

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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INSURGENT  
RIPS WITCH-  
HUNTING AS  
'THE BOSSES  
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**WILMINGTON TEN HEARING:** Attorneys for the Wilmington Ten argued in Raleigh, North Carolina, November 5 that the recantation of a star witness against the framed-up civil rights activists be admitted as evidence in their appeal in federal court.

Prosecution attorneys, hoping to stall freedom for the ten, countered that the recantation should instead be rerouted through state-level appeals courts—an unnecessary and time-consuming process.

According to an October 12 affidavit, the witness, Alan Hall, admitted that he had been pressured by the prosecution into giving false testimony against the defendants. The Wilmington Ten—nine Black men and one white woman—were convicted in 1972 on trumped-up riot charges stemming from their defense of school desegregation.

## Iran protest attacked

As the *Militant* goes to press, we have learned that Houston police brutally attacked a peaceful demonstration by Iranian students. The attack came November 9 during the second day of a vigil outside the Iranian consulate. Organized by the Iranian Student Association, the vigil was called to protest the arrest of two Iranians in France on charges that they assassinated an agent of the shah's secret police.

Fifty Iranian students were injured and 125 arrested by Houston cops.

Reza Baraheni, honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, denounced the attack as a "violation of the rights of Iranian students to protest.

"Are demonstrations illegal in this country?" he asked. "If they are not illegal, then there's no excuse for the police to beat these people." Baraheni urged widespread protests, warning that Houston police have already threatened to repeat their outrageous action.

**TRIBUTE TO IRISH FREEDOM FIGHTER:** A memorial meeting for Noel Jenkinson will be held in New York City November 14. Jenkinson, an active member of the Irish Civil Rights Association in London, was found dead in his British prison cell October 9. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment on charges that he participated in the bombing of a British military base in Aldershot in 1972. Jenkinson maintained his innocence.

His defense committee reports that the forty-six-year old Jenkinson, though subjected to ill-treatment in prison, had been in good health until his sudden death.

Attorney Frank Durkin will address the 12-2 p.m. meeting at the Irish Institute, 326 West Forty-eight Street, New York. For more information call (212) 265-3305.

**GAY TEACHER FIGHTS SCHOOL BOARD:** Shortly after high school English teacher John Gish became president of the New Jersey Gay Activists Alliance in 1972, he was ordered to undergo a psychiatric examination by the Paramus School Board.

On November 4, a New Jersey appeals court rejected Gish's bid to overturn this reactionary order. Denying that Gish's right to free speech was at the center of the case, the judges said that by submitting to an examination, Gish would be losing nothing "except his time."

Gish's attorney says he will appeal the decision.

**NAACP NAMES NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:** Benjamin Lawson Hooks, a member of the Federal Communications Commission, was elected November 6 to succeed Roy Wilkins as executive director of the NAACP.

Hooks was elected by a unanimous vote of the NAACP board. He will take office January 1.

**HELP SAVE COLEGIO CESAR CHAVEZ:** The first four-year, independent Chicano college has been ordered to close its doors by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

For the seventh time, HUD bureaucrats are trying to use financial technicalities to foreclose on the school's mortgage.

Administrator Celedonio "Sonny" Montes urges Colegio supporters to protest before HUD puts the school up for auction December 15. Letters should be sent to HUD, Room 10,000, 451 Seventh Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20024. Send copies to Colegio César Chávez, Mount Angel, Oregon 97362.

**PROTEST CIA IN LEXINGTON, KY.:** Thirty people picketed outside an October 27 speech by former CIA Director William Colby in Lexington's Memorial Coliseum. The picket line, organized by the University of Kentucky Ad Hoc Committee to Protest the CIA, demanded an end to CIA crimes at home and abroad and the opening of all agency files.

**HOUSTON UNIONISTS WIN FREE SPEECH FIGHT:** On October 26, Danny Laird and David Rossi, employees at a Houston Westinghouse plant, were threatened with arrest if they continued distribution of Socialist Workers party campaign material outside the factory.

The two socialists, members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 716, decided to fight this attack on the rights of union members to distribute literature outside the plant. A shop steward who is not a socialist supported their protests and offered to distribute the union's newsletter alongside the socialists next time they campaigned outside the gate.

The socialists also complained to the U.S. Justice Department about the company's illegal interference in a presidential election campaign. When the unionists, along with other socialist campaign supporters, took up Westinghouse's threat on November 1, the company made no effort to interfere.

**'FASCINATING AND SCHOLARLY BOOK':** "This is a fascinating and scholarly book; useful in sociology and anthropology courses and to any woman needing encouragement about the contributions of her sex to history." This is Margaret Human's evaluation of Evelyn Reed's book *Woman's Evolution* in a review printed by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Reed's Marxist interpretation also draws some criticism from Human. But, she writes, Reed "validly illustrates some of the difficulties with anthropological data produced by males. . . and interpreted through the blinders of our patriarchal society."

The AAAS review reflects the growing recognition of Reed's book. The AAAS is one of the world's largest and most prestigious scientific organizations.

**MESSAGE FROM JAPANESE PEACE MOVEMENT:** The October 29 *Militant* reported a mock reenactment of the atomic attack on Hiroshima during a benefit show for a Texas air museum.

The Japan Congress Against A- And H-Bombs (Gensuikin) has issued a protest against this outrageous act.

"We Japanese," the appeal says, "do not want to repeat . . . the misery and destruction under that atomic bomb mushroom cloud. At that moment more than 200 thousand people were killed instantly, the whole town was made into a ruin and more than 300 thousand people were burned and exposed to a large amount of radioactivity, which was just a hell."

Gensuikin urged the people of the United States to "acknowledge properly the tragedy that happened under the atomic bomb mushroom cloud. We demand that they should know the fact that 350 thousand people exposed to radioactivity have been living still with [the] curse [of the] atomic bomb."

—Peter Seidman

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### Where we are





# Sadlowski speaks to steelworker rally, blasts red-baiting as 'the bosses' game'

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Speaking before an enthusiastic meeting of 100 Houston-area steelworkers November 7, Ed Sadlowski delivered a scathing rebuttal to the red-baiting and violence that have been directed against his campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America.

"I've heard a lot of innuendos made by a lot of people," the insurgent candidate said, "and especially and very tragically in this particular area. That Ed Sadlowski is a communist, Ed Sadlowski's a radical, Ed Sadlowski's out to destroy this union."

"But I have yet to see one of these individuals make that type of statement to Ed Sadlowski's face. . . .

"We're not going to be intimidated if we come to Houston," Sadlowski declared. "We've been paying our dues a long, long time. I've been paying my dues for twenty years into this organization."

"And if you think you're going to kick us around and make us roll over and play dead, some of you have got another thought coming."

Right-wing forces in USWA District 37 have sought to intimidate Sadlowski supporters from campaigning. Last summer Sadlowski leafleters were beaten up at the gates of Armco Steel and U.S. Steel. Ben Corum, an activist from Illinois, was shot while leafleting at Hughes Tool Company here.

Unsigned leaflets have been circulated in the plants branding individual Sadlowski supporters as "communists." And most Houston-area local union presidents signed a red-baiting leaflet being distributed across the country in the name of SMART—"Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover."

## 'That's the bosses' game'

"If you let red-baiting break you up, that's the bosses' game," Sadlowski told the Houston meeting. "If you let race hatred break you up, that's the bosses' game. There's no place in the American labor movement for that kind of conduct."

"What we have to do is restore full democracy in this union, and that's not my concept of democracy."

"Booing, and shouting, and heckling, and bullets, and beating up—that's the bosses' game. That's the goddamn Texas Rangers' game. That's the National Association of Manufacturers' game. . . .

"I'm telling you it don't belong. And if you don't realize that, then you don't belong."



Militant/Glenn Campbell

ED SADLOWSKI: 'I don't ask people how they vote or what their political affiliations are, as long as they pay dues into this organization.'

Sadlowski and his running mate Marvin Weinstock, candidate for USWA vice-president for administration, each addressed the meeting briefly. Then Sadlowski fielded questions for an hour and a half.

One leading local red-baiter—Bob Clowers, president of Local 7756 at U.S. Steel's Baytown plant—provoked a heated verbal confrontation.

## Tom Snyder show

"Here about two weeks ago on the Tom Snyder show [on national NBC television]," Clowers said, "this guy Camejo—"

Clowers could not pronounce the name of Socialist Workers party candidate Peter Camejo correctly. Someone in the audience corrected him.

"—and his vice-president, Willie Mae Reid, running for president and vice-president from the Socialist party—"

Sadlowski broke in, "That's the Socialist Workers party."

"—some form of socialism, anyway,"

Clowers continued. "He gave all his political rhetoric. And Tom Snyder asked him, do you really expect to win the election with this philosophy."

"And he says, no, I don't. And then he says, to us that's not the most important election in 1976 anyway. The most important election in 1976 is the United Steelworkers presidential election, and our guy Sadlowski is going to win."

"Now let me tell you something," Sadlowski replied. "You just committed a very brazen act. Because let me tell you—that's out of context and not a quote."

"I've got the transcript [of the TV show]. He did not say, 'our guy Sadlowski.' See, that's the innuendo I'm talking about. That's the same kind of innuendo that I called you a liar on. He did not say that."

Clowers asked, "Well, what did he say?"

"You tell me what he said!" Sadlowski retorted. "You're asking the ques-

tion." The audience broke out in laughter.

"I'm asking you," Clowers continued, "why did that guy even bring your name up? He's not a steelworker."

"You'll have to ask him," Sadlowski said. "I've never met the dude in my life."

## Jane Fonda, Ramsey Clark

Clowers went on to accuse Sadlowski of also being supported by Jane Fonda, actress and antiwar activist, and Ramsey Clark, liberal Democratic politician and former U.S. attorney general. It was a convincing demonstration that anyone who opposed the war in Vietnam or who speaks out for civil liberties is suspect in the eyes of the steel union bureaucracy.

Clowers pressed on. "Are the communists or any guys like that supporting you?"

Sadlowski: "I don't ask people how they vote or what their political affiliations are, as long as they pay dues into this organization. What do you allude to?"

Clowers: "This gentleman over here asked if you were a communist."

Sadlowski: "And what did I answer him?"

Clowers: "You said no."

Sadlowski: "That good enough for you?"

Clowers: "Well, are you a socialist?"

Sadlowski: "In the sense of Eugene Debs, yes. You carry that answer back with you. Get a handbill out—get it just exactly as I quoted it now."

Sadlowski paused and added, "I don't know if you even know who Gene Debs was."

"No, I don't," Clowers admitted. The crowd again burst into laughter.

Sadlowski went on to point out the irony that Debs, the most famous leader of the early Socialist party in this country, is still given token respect by the labor officialdom because of his prominent role as a union organizer.

"I.W. Abel just received the Eugene V. Debs award," Sadlowski said. "And I'm sure Debs will turn over in his grave a few times."

## 'Union should be a cause'

Sadlowski's strong stand against red-baiting, and his rejection of the notion that socialists should be excluded from union politics, are especially significant in Houston. This should mark a big step toward ending the climate of right-wing intimidation here.

Sadlowski's views on other vital issues also came through clearly: for union democracy and the right of all members to vote on their contracts, against the no-strike agreement in basic steel and all other procompany policies.

In an article in that day's *Houston Post*, both Bob Clowers and E.L. Jones, president of Local 2708 at Armco Steel, were quoted as blaming layoffs at those plants on competition from Japanese steelmakers. Sadlowski was asked to comment.

He rejected the union bureaucracy's line of protecting "our" industry against foreign competitors. "Hold the industrialists to blame for unemployment," Sadlowski insisted. "Don't blame the American worker or the Japanese worker."

Sadlowski also praised the United Farm Workers union and its president, César Chávez. "What we need to do is develop the union as a cause. People organize around causes. I think the farm workers will still win in California in spite of the setback they just had," Sadlowski added, "because they represent a cause."

## McBride clobbered in early local voting

By Ed Heisler

Ed Sadlowski is off to a flying start in his drive to win the presidency of the United Steelworkers union in next February's election.

On November 8 union locals began nominating candidates for president, four other international offices, and directors of the USWA's twenty-five districts. Nominating meetings will continue until December 7.

To win a spot on the ballot in the February 8 election, a candidate for international office must win the nomination of about 150 locals. Steelworkers vote at nominating meetings of their local. Whoever receives the most votes is nominated.

In the first two days of voting

Sadlowski is clobbering "official family" candidate Lloyd McBride in basic steel locals.

In Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works—a key local in the Pittsburgh area—Sadlowski piled up 687 votes to McBride's 338. In northwestern Pennsylvania at Sharon Steel, members of Local 1197 gave Sadlowski a landslide victory of 198 votes to McBride's 21. The top officers of both locals are staunch McBride backers.

A high turnout is discouraged by rules barring plant-gate voting. Members usually must cast their votes at union meeting halls, which in some cases are miles away.

In Cleveland, Sadlowski has already won the nominations of Local 185 at Jones & Laughlin and Locals

2265 and 1157 at Republic Steel by margins of up to three to one.

Another significant vote came at Local 67 in Granite City, Illinois. Granite City is part of District 34, where Lloyd McBride is district director.

While this local may be under McBride's jurisdiction it certainly isn't under his thumb. He lost and lost big. The score: Sadlowski 127. McBride 22.

Sadlowski commented: "I think it is important that a local which knows McBride so well should vote so heavily against him."

"These steelworkers are sending a message to their brothers and sisters across North America that is quite clear."



# Come to the national antiracist conference

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—On November 19-21, hundreds of student activists from around the country will be coming to Boston University to participate in the third National Student Conference Against Racism. The conference was initiated by the National Student Coalition Against Racism, a multiracial student organization actively involved in the movement for Black rights and the struggles of other oppressed national minorities.

The past two years have seen a stepped-up racist offensive: the growth of the racist "antibusing" movement, government backsliding in enforcing and extending school desegregation, the reinstitution of the death penalty, attacks on affirmative action, and hysteria whipped up against so-called illegal aliens from Mexico. NSCAR has been active in fighting these injustices.

In addition, the new rise of the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa has highlighted the international character of the struggle against racism. This will add an important dimension to conference discussions.

"No to racism from Boston to South Africa"—the theme of the conference—sums up the wide range of national and international issues to be discussed during the three days of workshops, panels, and plenary sessions.

The conference will open Friday evening at 7:00 p.m. with a public rally in Hayden Hall at Boston University. The speakers include: Prof. Herbert Vilakazi, a Black South African (now a U.S. citizen) who was an eyewitness in June to the first Soweto uprising in South Africa; Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leader of the Irish freedom struggle; Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; Tom

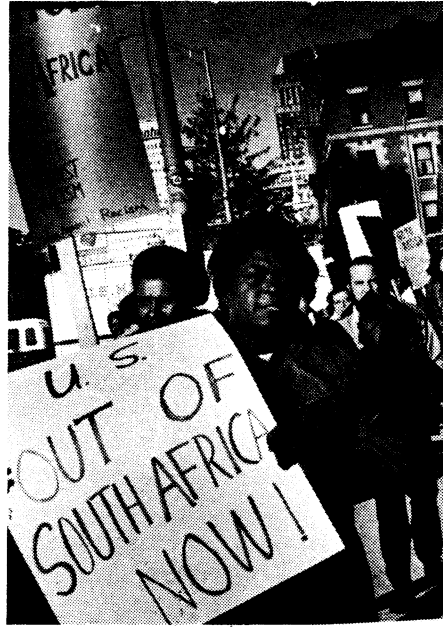
Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP; and Elsie Franklin from the Black Caucus of the Boston Teachers Union.

Also, Imani Kazana from the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee; Joe Madison, president of the Detroit NAACP; Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar* magazine; Tom Turner, president of the Detroit Metro AFL-CIO; Mrs. Juanita Tyler, mother of Louisiana frame-up victim Gary Tyler; and Luis Fuentes, former school superintendent from School District One on New York's Lower East Side and a leader in the struggle for community control of the schools there.

Saturday's session will begin with a panel discussion on "The Struggle Against Apartheid in Southern Africa and the Role of the United States."

Panelists include: Courtland Cox, delegate to the Sixth Pan-African Congress; Jeff Baqwa, member of the executive committee of the South African Students Organization, who is now touring the United States; Herbert Vilakazi; Sinos Mangazza, chairperson of the Zimbabwe African National Union in North America; and August Nimtz, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota and member of NSCAR.

This panel will initiate discussion around the major action proposal to be discussed at the conference: launching a national campaign around southern



Militant/Joanne Murphy

Africa, focusing on a National Day of Student Protests Against U.S. Complicity With Racist Regimes in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

This proposal was adopted at NSCAR's October 23 national steering committee meeting, and will be presented to the conference for discussion and vote.

According to NSCAR national coordinator Maceo Dixon, the proposed date for the National Day of Student

Protests will be March 21, the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. On that day in 1960, scores of South African Blacks were killed for demonstrating against the hated pass laws.

The campaign and day of protests will involve teach-ins, demonstrations, picket lines, forums, and other activities aimed at mobilizing the broadest possible opposition to continued U.S. support for the white minority regimes in southern Africa.

On Saturday afternoon there will be two sets of workshops, nearly forty in all. (See accompanying list.) These smaller meetings will provide antiracist activists an opportunity to discuss the various action proposals and to share experiences.

On Saturday evening and Sunday, there will be plenary sessions where all the action proposals will be discussed and voted on by conference participants. The conference is open to all opponents of racism, and everyone has voice and vote.

A number of films will also be shown during the conference, as well as a new NSCAR slide show documenting the history of the civil rights movement and the struggle for school desegregation in Boston.

For more information on the conference, contact: **National Student Coalition Against Racism, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.**

## Student conference workshops

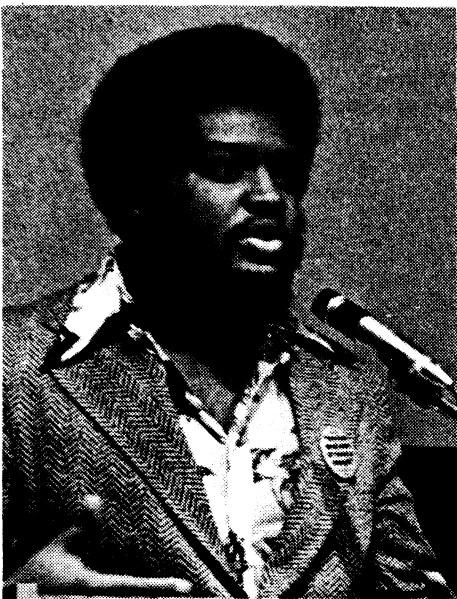
The following workshops will take place on Saturday, November 20, at the third National Student Conference Against Racism.

- **Organizing opposition to U.S. support to apartheid**, led by Mike Fisher, coordinator of the Atlanta Coalition Against Repression in Southern Africa; a representative from the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa; Jimmy Garrett from the June 16th Coalition in Washington, D.C.; Paul Pumphrey, national organizer of the Anti-Apartheid Movement based in Washington, D.C.; and Vince Eagan of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.
- **Defending affirmative action**, led by Ed Kennedy, vice-president of the National Student Association.
- **Building the movement against the death penalty**, led by Prof. Herbert Bedau of Tufts University, and Derrick Alphan, coordinator of the Georgia Committee to Abolish the Death Penalty.
- **Fighting against cutbacks.**
- **The movement to stop racist deportations.**

- **Combating police brutality.**
- **Ending discrimination in housing**, led by Joe Madison, president of Detroit NAACP.
- **Defending Gary Tyler**, led by Mrs. Juanita Tyler.
- **Teachers and desegregation**, led by Elsie Franklin of the Boston Teachers Union Black Caucus and Bob Pearlman, also from the BTU.
- **Hurricane Carter defense.**
- **The movement for prisoners' rights**, led by John Boone, former corrections commissioner for Massachusetts and head of the Campaign Against Prisons; John Taylor, president of the Massachusetts Coalition to Help Prisoners and Their Families; a representative of the Prisoners' Rights Organization from the University of Massachusetts.
- **Ella Ellison defense.**
- **Stanton Story defense.**
- **The myth of white flight**, led by Prof. Christine Rossell of Boston University.
- **How to organize a SCAR chapter.**
- **Paul X Moody defense**, led by Doa-

lyah Rashed from the Paul X Moody Defense Committee.

- **J.B. Johnson defense.**
- **The ongoing struggle for school desegregation.**
- **Bilingual-bicultural education.**
- **Wilmington Ten defense**, led by Imani Kazana of the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.
- **The labor movement and desegregation.**
- **Gays and the fight against racism**, led by Ken Withers and NSCAR.
- **Defending the NAACP.**
- **Cointelpro and the Black movement**, led by Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar*.
- **The struggle for community control in New York School District One.**
- **Defending the five Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners.**
- **Black women and the fight against racism.**
- **The American Indian Movement**, led by Clyde Bellecourt.
- **Fundraising for NSCAR.**



Militant/Joanne Murphy

MACEO DIXON

## Judge hits stalling on bilingual education in NYC

By José G. Pérez

A federal judge has found New York City school authorities in contempt of court for failing to provide bilingual education to Spanish-speaking children.

The school system was required to do this under a 1974 court order known as the Aspira Consent Decree. Aspira, a social service agency set up to help Puerto Rican and other Latino students, initiated the original court action in September 1972.

The judge said school authorities had "violated their obligations under the decree." He ordered the schools to pay Aspira's legal costs in the contempt action, and warned them that the Aspira decree "remains in full force and effect."

The judge hinted that if sabotage of the program continued, he would place the school system under receivership.

New York City schools are administered through a federated system. There is a city-wide board of education

and thirty-two community school districts, each with an elected board.

The city-wide authorities run the high schools directly. They also set general policy guidelines and allocate money for the community school boards. The community boards in turn administer junior high schools and elementary schools in their neighborhoods.

In the October 22 contempt ruling, Judge Marvin Frankel cited "nonperformance, inadequate performance, or outright defiance" by the community school boards.

The judge found that authorities of the city-wide school system were guilty of "extravagantly long and benign tolerance of outright defiance as well as foot-dragging and evasion in the districts."

The order setting up the current bilingual program was signed in August 1974. It specified a timetable, with full implementation to be completed by

September 1975.

Instead of implementing the decree, central school authorities stalled and missed deadlines, without even notifying the court.

By December 1975, statistics compiled by the board showed that more than half of the 85,000 students it considered eligible were receiving no bilingual education.

In addition, it was clear that some local boards were consciously sabotaging the program. In Community School District 30, for example, *not one student* was receiving the benefits of the program.

Aspira then filed a motion with the court to find the school system in contempt. After this motion was filed, the board of education began to move toward complying with the decree, but still at a slow pace.

By the end of last school year, only 75 percent of the eligible students were receiving the full program.

# A message to all our supporters



Dear Friends,

We want to extend our thanks to everyone whose support helped make this the biggest and most successful presidential campaign the Socialist Workers party has run.

The issues our campaign addressed—unemployment, inflation, cutbacks, racism, the second-class status of women—were not resolved on election day.

Working people and students will have to keep fighting to win jobs, school desegregation, bilingual-bicultural education, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and freedom for Gary Tyler and other prisoners on America's death rows.

Our party will continue to be in the forefront of these struggles. We hope all of you who supported our campaign will join us as active participants in the movements for social justice and equality.

An important place to be on November 19-21 is in Boston at the third National Student Conference Against Racism. The conference is open to all opponents of racism and will discuss national activities in defense of Black majority rule in southern Africa, school desegregation, and abolition of the death penalty.

If you believe as we do that a society that puts human needs before profits—a socialist society—is a realistic and necessary goal, we urge you to join the Socialist Workers party. Write to us at 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014, or call the SWP branch or Young Socialist Alliance chapter nearest you (see Socialist Directory on page 27). We look forward to hearing from you soon.

In solidarity,

Peter Camejo

Millie Mae Reid



## Some vote returns in for SWP, other parties

By Steve Wattenmaker

Unofficial vote totals for the Socialist Workers party, Communist party (see box), and other opposition parties have begun filtering in from a number of states.

While the Democrats' and Republicans' up-to-the-second vote totals are the only fare for election-night television viewers, smaller parties are often forced to wait a month or more for their results.

New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey are among the large states withholding the SWP vote until the election is declared "official" at the end of this month.

The independent Chicano Raza Unida parties in New Mexico, California, Colorado, and Texas ran local and statewide candidates. In at least several important races, RUP candidates made impressive showings.

Moisés Morales, candidate for sheriff

of New Mexico's Rio Arriba county, polled 11 percent of the vote. Andrés Torres, running on the RUP ticket for state assembly in California's Thirty-ninth District, captured 4.5 percent.

Five Raza Unida candidates won local posts in Zavala County, Texas, of which Crystal City is the seat. RUP candidate Crespín Treviño, however,

lost an important race for county sheriff.

Eugene McCarthy, who ran as an independent capitalist candidate, was on the ballot in twenty-nine states, averaging about 1 percent of the popular vote.

Among right-wing and conservative challengers to Ford and Carter, only

the Libertarian party registered gains. In 1972 the Libertarians were on the ballot in only two states. This year their presidential candidate, Roger McBride, was on the ballot in thirty-two states and ran a well-financed campaign. Preliminary results show McBride with a higher vote than any other opposition candidate except McCarthy.

The remnants of George Wallace's once sizable American Independent party, and its American party split-off, continued their decline in this election. Wallace himself backed Carter.

American party candidate Thomas Anderson and American Independent party candidate Lester Maddox managed to gather only an insignificant fraction of the Wallace movement's 1968 and 1972 vote. Even in a Deep South state such as Mississippi, the combined AP and AIP vote was only 9,500. The SWP polled 2,213 in Mississippi.

Below are the currently available vote totals for the Socialist Workers and Communist party presidential tickets.

	SWP	CP
Arizona	906	—
California	17,083	12,791
Indiana	3,529	—
Kentucky	334	421
Massachusetts	7,590	—
Michigan	1,948	—

Minnesota	4,000	1,000
Mississippi	2,213	—
N. Hampshire	161	—
New Mexico	2,339	—
Ohio	5,346	8,470
Rhode Island	454	323
Texas	11,456	—
Utah	258	242
Washington, D.C.	476	187
Washington	852	731
Wisconsin	1,546	649
<b>Total to date</b>	<b>60,491</b>	<b>24,814</b>

## D.C. activist finds party he was looking for

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Tony Grillo, twenty-nine, has lived in this city all his life. For the last thirteen years, he has lived in the Adams-Morgan community, which is predominantly Black and Latino.

Adams-Morgan is a hub of political activity, with many radical bookstores, defense committee offices, and community organizations. This summer, the Socialist Workers party opened a



bookstore here, along with a campaign headquarters.

When the socialists began petitioning to put their candidates on the ballot, Grillo was an active petitioner. A few weeks ago, he decided to join the SWP. He is now a provisional member of the Northwest branch here. This three-month provisional period gives prospective members a chance to get

well acquainted with the party before joining.

From early in life Grillo came to expect racist abuse from the U.S. government. His father is Cuban and his mother Dominican.

Grillo's draft notice, for example, arrived just two weeks after he graduated from high school. "They were drafting us by the busload," he said, recalling his ride to the induction center. Only four whites were on the bus; the rest were Black.

The racism of the armed forces opened his eyes to radical ideas. Stationed at Fort Knox in Kentucky, Grillo began reading about Vietnam. He became convinced that the war was unjust and he began contributing articles to antiwar newspapers put out by GIs.

"Just as soon as I got out of the army," Grillo said, he went on his first antiwar demonstration. That was the January 1969 "counter-inaugural" march in Washington.

He also became active in local D.C. politics and in the fight to free political prisoners. He worked closely with the National Alliance Against Racism and

Political Repression, attending its national convention last year in Pittsburgh.

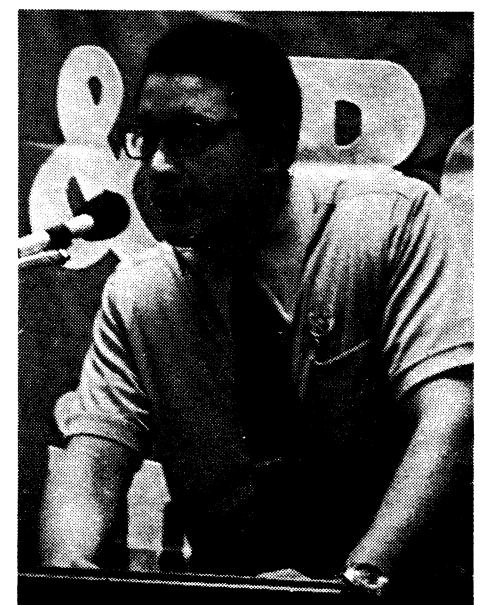
Grillo was especially interested in the Wilmington Ten case. In 1972, ten civil rights fighters were framed up on arson charges in Wilmington, North Carolina. Grillo is currently active in the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee.

He is also a partisan of the women's liberation movement. And this was a major reason for his joining the SWP. Prior to learning about the SWP's election campaign, Grillo had attended meetings for the Communist party's candidates. He did not know that the CP vehemently opposes the Equal Rights Amendment.

Grillo described his reaction when he found out about the CP's anti-ERA stand: "I said to myself, damn! This is a leftist group? How can they not support the ERA when they see STOP ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly and how she's connected with those antibusing groups in Boston?"

It was at an ERA teach-in last spring, in fact, that Grillo first ran into the SWP campaign. This was the

alternative he was really looking for, he decided—a party that champions the women's liberation struggle, fights uncompromisingly against racism, and campaigns for the rights of all working people.



Militant/Afrodita Constantinidis

TONY GRILLO

# How Calif. growers beat Prop. 14

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Proposition 14, the California farm labor initiative, was defeated by a vote of 4.4 million to 2.9 million.

The measure, which was strongly backed by the United Farm Workers union, would have strengthened laws giving farm workers the right to vote for the union of their choice. It lost in the face of a massive agribusiness campaign of lies and distortions that succeeded in diverting attention from the real issues.

Newspaper, radio, and television commercials were designed to frighten voters into opposing the ballot initiative. Business interests called on voters to "protect private property rights." Advertisements went so far as to raise the specter of "strangers" entering California living rooms to organize baby sitters!

The growers' arguments carefully avoided the real question—the right of farm workers to organize in the union of their choice.

The employers claimed Proposition 14 violated private property rights because it would have guaranteed union organizers the right to talk to the workers on the ranches for an hour before and after work and during lunch breaks.

Such access is already permitted under rules established by the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board and upheld by the California and U.S. Supreme Courts.

Proposition 14 would simply have written the board's rules into law.

Access is crucial. If union organizers are not permitted on the farms, it is often impossible to reach the workers. In many cases, the migrant workers live in camps right on the farm. In other cases, the workers live over a widely scattered area.

## 'Family farms'?

The growers also issued demagogic pleas to protect California's "family farms" from invasion by "strangers"—read UFW organizers.

This argument, too, is completely without any basis.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, fewer than 10 percent of California growers employ more than 75 percent of the farm workers.

The UFW is concerned with organizing where the workers are—on the big ranches. Most of these are controlled by the largest corporations in the country, not by small family farmers.



Militant/José G. Pérez

Proposition 14 would have strengthened farm workers' right to vote for union of their choice.

It was these huge corporations that fueled the "No on 14" campaign. Superior Farming, owned by Superior Oil, kicked in \$5,000, and the president of the firm contributed the same amount.

Money also came from Getty Oil, Standard Oil, Union Oil, and the Southern Pacific Land Company.

In response, the UFW worked hard and stubbornly for passage. The union proved it has a wide popular base of support in this state. Hundreds of volunteers worked full time and more than a million dollars was raised to finance the campaign.

The effort, as impressive and inspiring as it was, proved insufficient to defeat the entrenched agribusiness interests and their massive big-lie campaign.

The biggest factor in the defeat was the reliance of the UFW leadership on the Democratic party to win passage of Proposition 14.

In exchange for their formal backing of the proposition, Jimmy Carter and California senatorial candidate John Tunney won the endorsement, and active support, of the UFW.

In return, Carter and Tunney gave nothing. Gov. Edmund Brown did prepare a TV commercial and signed a newspaper ad for the "Yes on 14" committee. But he simply urged a "yes" vote "to get the farm labor issue

out of the legislature" and allow the state government to deal with "more important" matters.

Carter concluded his campaign at a rally in downtown Los Angeles the day before the elections. UFW supporters went out of their way to build the event.

Yet, UFW leader César Chávez, who was announced as one of the speakers at the rally, never got to say a word. Mayor Thomas Bradley spoke. Senator Tunney spoke. Governor Brown spoke. Carter spoke.

But not one of them said a single word about Proposition 14.

## Temporary setback

Throughout the fall, Leo McCarthy, the powerful Democratic speaker of the California assembly, urged a "no" vote on the measure. McCarthy is a close ally of Governor Brown and managed Brown's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination earlier this year.

UFW support for Carter, Brown, and other Democratic politicians left the union unable to answer another grower charge: that since there was already a farm labor law on the books in California, Proposition 14 wasn't necessary.

It is true that there is a farm labor law in California. But the fact is that the growers and their friends in the legislature—including Leo McCarthy—scuttled it after the UFW won a majority of the union representation elections.

Although Proposition 14 failed, polls showed that the measure was favored by a majority of Chicanos, Blacks, and young people—the groups most alienated from two-party politics and least likely to vote.

The defeat of Proposition 14 is a setback for the union. But the UFW has survived many earlier blows. Because its strength is derived from the farm workers themselves, and the broad public support they have been able to win.

"Our experience in this movement is that we never lose," César Chávez told a Los Angeles election night rally of 800. "There may be temporary setbacks, but we never lose. The work on Proposition 14 was an investment."

Referring to the agribusiness interests that had defeated Proposition 14, Chávez added, "There's more time than money, and there's more of us than them."

# Socialists win '78 D.C. ballot spot

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Socialist Workers party candidate Dorothy Hawkinson garnered more than 10,000 votes in the city council election here, ensuring her party a ballot slot for the 1978 election.

This is the first time the SWP anywhere in the country has qualified

for the ballot on the basis of votes won. Election laws are designed to allow only the Democrats and Republicans automatic ballot "privileges."

Hawkinson's preliminary tally is 10,256 votes, 5 percent of the total cast for two city council at-large spots. By D.C. law, any party receiving at least 7,500 votes is permitted to hold a primary the next time, thus bypassing the burdensome signature-gathering procedure.

This year socialists here collected 5,300 signatures to add Hawkinson's name and party affiliation to the ballot.

The D.C. Board of Elections has also tentatively agreed to add the party's name to the voter registration card, along with the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Statehood party, which first surpassed the 7,500 requirement in 1971.

"The SWP did very well," commented an amazed legal assistant in the board's office. "Ten thousand votes is a good showing."

Statehood party candidate Josephine Butler won 23,598 votes, or 12 percent.

"The voters are saying that they

realize that these problems [facing Washingtonians] are due to the politics and policies of the two major parties," said Butler in a statement congratulating the SWP. "They want change."

That D.C. residents have little loyalty for the two big capitalist parties is shown by the turnout November 2 of only 29.6 percent of eligible voters. That was far below the national record low of 53.3 percent.

Democratic registration this time around dropped below 200,000, and D.C. Republicans are down to 28,000. Voters registering independent grew to more than 32,000. Statehood party registration more than tripled since 1972. Voters writing in the name of their party under "other" grew from 492 to more than 1,200.

"With the Statehood party and the smaller parties thus steadily growing, and independents increasing more slowly the importance of what might be called a third force is becoming much more significant," concluded the *Washington Star*, even before the election.

That's one election forecast the SWP intends to make good on.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

DOROTHY HAWKINSON

## \$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

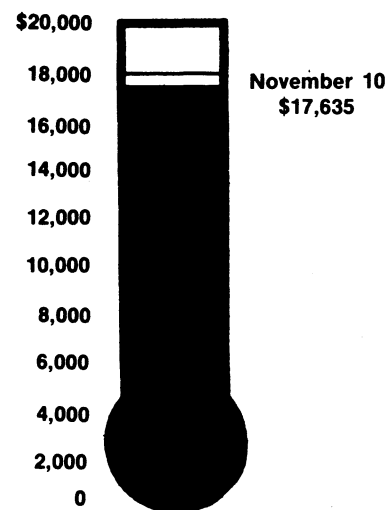
Last week Socialist Workers campaign supporters sent in \$1,931 to the Camejo & Reid fund. Contributions came from rallies held in Atlanta, Berkeley, New York's Lower East Side, Phoenix, and New Orleans.

This means we still have to raise \$2,365 to reach our goal of \$20,000 by next week.

Election day is over. But we still have to pay bills for travel, telephone, and printing. We need this money so the 1976 campaign can finish free of debt.

If you can help, any amount will be appreciated.

## How we're doing



Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. ☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

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A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.



## Independence vote grows

# Behind election in Puerto Rico: mass discontent

By José G. Pérez

The November 2 elections in the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico produced a victory for the pro-statehood New Progressive party.

With the bulk of the votes for governor counted, the results were: Carlos Romero Barceló (New Progressive)—671,837; Rafael Hernández Colón (Popular Democratic)—635,798; Rubén Berríos Martínez (Independence)—77,125; and Juan Mari Brás (Socialist)—10,615.

Barceló's New Progressive party also won Puerto Rico's nonvoting observer seat in the U.S. Congress, control of both houses of the legislature, and control of a majority of the seventy-

eight municipalities, including the largest cities.

Although preelection surveys predicted that proindependence parties would win up to 12 percent of the votes, their final total was just half that. Nonetheless, these parties won 87,700 votes, a big increase from the 52,000 polled in 1972.

Final results of the elections will not be known for several weeks. But it appears almost certain that the Puerto Rican Independence party will have at least one member in the Puerto Rican House of Representatives.

The big loser was the Popular Democratic party—the island's main political force for close to four decades.

Although it had lost the governorship in 1968, this is the first time it has been defeated so thoroughly.

The Popular Democrats are supporters of the so-called commonwealth relation to the United States—the present setup. Under this agreement, Puerto Ricans elect a local government with very limited authority, while Washington retains all important powers. Puerto Ricans have no vote for U.S. president, and they elect only one nonvoting representative to Congress.

The outcome of the Puerto Rican voting received wide publicity because the island's colonial status had become a major international issue, debated each year at the United Nations.

One of the main arguments the United States uses to justify its domination of the island is that the Puerto Rican people support the commonwealth. They cite election results as their primary evidence. U.S. newspapers declared this fall's election "an indirect plebiscite on the Puerto Rican preference for statehood, commonwealth or independence."

"Puerto Rican voters decide—strongly—to stay with U.S.," proclaimed the headline in the November 4 *Christian Science Monitor*. The *New York Times* said in a November 5 editorial, "Well over 90 percent of Puerto Rico's voters have supported the parties that favor permanent union with the United States."

More realistic, however, was the assessment of former Popular Democratic Gov. Roberto Sánchez Vilella. "Puerto Ricans are voting negatively," he said. "They're voting against bad candidates rather than for good ones."

And the New Progressive's Luis Ferré agreed: "The people showed . . . that status cannot be used as an issue: when government doesn't govern well, the people will reject it."

And it isn't hard to see why.

When Popular Democrat Rafael Hernández Colón beat incumbent Luis Ferré by a landslide four years ago, he relied on several issues. He promised economic progress, deescalation of repression against *independistas*, and more self-government for Puerto Rico.

Instead, unemployment climbed to an official rate of 20 percent. This translates to 40 percent when discouraged workers who are no longer even looking for jobs are counted.

Repression has been extended, with



ROMERO BARCELÓ: Won with promises of jobs and end to corruption, not support to U.S. rule.

frame-ups against labor leaders and government use of the national guard to break strikes.

Pleas for more self-government have gotten nowhere in Washington.

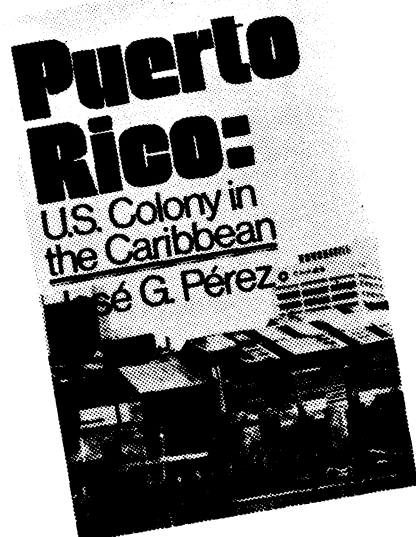
In addition, the Popular Democrats have been rocked by scandals, ranging from crooked land deals to massive illegal wiretapping.

Romero Barceló capitalized on this sorry record. He placed ads headlined "All the Governor's Men" in newspapers a few days before the election.

He blasted "the type of economic progress that benefits 300 multimillionaires at the expense of three million Puerto Ricans."

And he effectively defused the one issue that could have cost him the election: his support for Puerto Rico becoming the fifty-first state. He said status wasn't an issue, and that, if elected, he would take no steps toward statehood during his term.

"Undoubtedly, a great majority of the electorate chose to support the New Progressive party as a protest against all the corruption, antiworker measures, and bad administration" of Hernández Colón, said Juan Mari Brás, the socialist candidate for governor.



### PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

'Nothing could be more ironic for Puerto Ricans than the celebration of 200 years of American independence. . . . To understand the economic crisis and political ferment on the island, the recurring debates over Puerto Rico in the United Nations, and the maneuvers in the U.S. Congress, it is necessary to begin from one simple fact: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States.'

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## Puerto Rican Trotskyists urged vote for PSP

By José G. Pérez

The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), the Trotskyist organization in Puerto Rico, urged a vote for the candidates of the Puerto Rican Socialist party in the November 2 elections.

The LIT said the slate headed by PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás was "the only electoral alternative" for working people.

The LIT was founded about two years ago by a group of students and young workers. It publishes a newspaper, *La Verdad*, which comes out six times a year. The October-November issue is devoted largely to the elections.

In an article on "The Internationalist Workers League and the Elections," the LIT blasted the Popular Democratic and New Progressive parties as "parties based on so-called freedom of enterprise, which is nothing more than the so-called freedom to exploit the workers."

"The workers cannot continue voting for the parties of the bosses," the article stated. "We have to break with them. We have to create our own organizations."

Although the Puerto Rican Independence party calls itself socialist, the article said, "it does not clearly say which class should govern Puerto Rico."

"The PIP pretends to be the party of the middle class and the workers. But one of its candidates is no one less than Pete Martínez, former president of the Association of Industrialists."

The article continues, "The PSP presents the need to organize a party of the workers independent from the parties of the bosses. . . . The PSP poses the necessity of independence and socialism."

For these reasons, and despite disagreements with the program of the PSP, the article urged a vote for PSP candidates.

The same issue of *La Verdad* con-

tained a special six-page election insert with the LIT's "Program of struggle against unemployment, the high cost of living, and for our democratic rights."

### Cops attack socialist leader

Alexis Irizarry, a founding leader of the Puerto Rican Internationalist Workers League, was assaulted and beaten by Puerto Rican cops October 27.

A press release signed by Irizarry described the attack. "I was returning from our offices in Las Monjas, Hato Rey, October 27 at 12:30 a.m. when I was savagely attacked by two members of the police, who had taken off their badges. . . .

"They shouted that I was a 'dirty student' and that they were going to kill me," Irizarry stated.

"When I asked for an explanation, they proceeded to beat me with clubs, hitting me in the face, which caused me to vomit blood."

Irizarry said one cop reached for his gun and "wanted me to run . . . probably to shoot me claiming I was trying to escape."

"When I refused to run, they continued beating me, shouting 'dirty student' at me," he said.

Irizarry linked the attack to a strike by workers at the University of Puerto Rico. The LIT has actively supported the strike. —J.G.P.

## SWP challenges gov't informers

# FBI official testifies in socialists' lawsuit

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—James Adams, deputy associate director of the FBI, testified November 4 at a court hearing in the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment.

Adams is in charge of all the agency's investigations, both the criminal and so-called domestic security cases. In his testimony, Adams was supposed to explain the FBI's refusal to turn over twenty-five file drawers of material about nineteen informers assigned at one time or another to the Socialist Workers party.

The SWP is demanding these files so it can prepare to question the nineteen under oath. The socialists want to document how the government uses informers not just to spy, but to disrupt and carry out illegal operations against political groups.

Adams was questioned about a sworn statement he had earlier submitted for the lawsuit. In that statement Adams had written that "informants throughout the country have expressed concern over the possible disclosure of their identities. . . ."

On the witness stand, Adams tried to back up his claims. The FBI had sent out a teletype order to Special Agents in Charge (SACs in bureau lingo) of the fifty-nine field offices, Adams explained. This order had gone out specifically to prepare the FBI's arguments for the SWP lawsuit. It told SACs to report informers' fears.

Adams neglected to bring the SACs' answers to the court hearing to be examined. But the G-man did recall some details.

### Five out of 6,700

Adams claimed the FBI uses about 600 or 700 people for political spying. The bureau has another 6,000 informers assigned to other cases, he said.

Forty to fifty informers had "expressed concern" about remaining



James Adams of FBI (right) answers Judge Thomas Griesa. Courtroom drawing by 'Militant' artist Caryl Loeb.

undercover. Five or six named the SWP lawsuit as the reason for their worry.

Were these worried informers working on criminal or political cases? the judge asked. Adams did not know.

"Five out of thousands of informants . . .," marveled Leonard Boudin, the socialists' attorney. "Five of them have allegedly told FBI agents, who have allegedly told the Special Agents in Charge, who have then sent teletypes to headquarters, have said they are concerned. . . . It is an infinitesimal number."

In his written statement Adams had claimed informers are afraid of being killed or physically attacked. He said they also endure "fear of peer group disapproval of acting as an 'informer,' which activity has always held an unsavory connotation."

## 'Some bad communication'

The government has had a recurring problem ever since the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance filed their lawsuit against the FBI and other political police agencies three years ago:

*It just can't seem to get its facts straight.*

FBI lawyers assured the socialists that G-men had never done any burglaries, for example. Then secret files about ninety-two burglaries of the SWP national office turned up. Then the government said that these black-bag jobs were all over. But on July 7, 1976, an FBI informer burglarized the Denver SWP office.

William Brandt, the government lawyer working on the case, told the judge at a recent court hearing that this had all been "some bad communication."

But later that same day, Brandt came up with some more "bad communication."

Brandt was trying to explain why the government refuses to turn over files about FBI informers. SWP or YSA members, he claimed, might try to take revenge and physically threaten or punish informers.

Brandt described a case: ". . . it happens that one of the informants [that's FBI communication for informers] was interrogated under questionable circumstances while he was intoxicated for several hours and forced to testify concerning his activities as an SWP informant by members of the SWP and he said he was so scared he had to lie to the SWP and tell them all sorts of

stories."

If Brandt's claim were true, it would be a serious charge against the socialists. The government lawyer said he could document the charge from the informer's testimony.

But that testimony—when the informer was questioned by the socialists' attorney Herbert Jordan—goes like this:

*Jordan:* Did any harm ever come to you from any member of the YSA following your disclosure of being an informant? . . .

*Informer:* Not to my knowledge, that I can think of.

*Jordan:* . . . you testified earlier that you made untrue statements in the interview [to YSA members] because you were afraid of what the FBI might do to you; is that correct?

*Informer:* Yes. I was afraid of what the FBI would do. I was scared of what I had done the night before.

*Jordan:* You mean your disclosure that you were working for the FBI?

*Informer:* Right.

*Jordan:* . . . Were you afraid of what the YSAers might do to you if you didn't tell them what they wanted to hear?

*Informer:* I was afraid of what the—I believe at that point in time I was afraid of what the FBI would do to me if I didn't have somebody backing me up.

\* \* \*

The government has trouble communicating its case, it appears, because it has no case. —D.R.

lawless acts, you are going to have your name revealed."

### What's in files?

Judge Griesa said that the informers' files are "crucial" to the lawsuit.

"They may disclose things that nobody has even thought of asking or talking about," he said.

It was only after FBI informer Timothy Redfearn's complete file was turned over for the lawsuit, for example, that burglaries by informers became public. Until then the government had denied that informers did anything illegal.

Griesa called the socialists' request for only nineteen informers' files "sparing." After all, the government has admitted that over the last four decades it has used an army of 1,300 informers against the socialists.

The judge said that it may be necessary to make all 1,300 files available for the lawsuit. But Griesa said he could not make a ruling yet.

### High interest

The courtroom was filled for the hearing. Among those attending were Ralph Schoenman, former director of the Bertrand Russell Foundation; Walter Schnier, coauthor with Miriam Schnier of *Invitation to an Inquest*, a



Drawing by Caryl Loeb

LEONARD BOUDIN

book about the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; attorneys Marshall Perlin and Bonnie Brower, who are working for release of the Rosenberg files.

The high interest in the hearing highlights the importance of the informer issue. An editorial in the November 6 issue of the *Nation* put it this way:

"Fascinating skirmishes in court—which may lead to landmark decisions on the scope of civil liberties in the United States—continue to take place in the three-year suit of the Socialist Workers Party against the FBI. The latest involves the use of 'informers,' those government spies the FBI has sprinkled so liberally among political groups whose opinions the G-men dislike."

After describing the FBI excuses for not releasing the files, the *Nation* concluded, ". . . the rest of us can only be pleased that fearful informers are dropping out of circulation, thus hampering the bureau's repellent work as a political police force. And a court decision to unveil all the Timothy Redfearns within the SWP would be a giant victory for everyone who cares about the Constitution."

In reply the socialists submitted a sworn affidavit. "In the entire history of the SWP, since it was founded in 1938, and of the [Young Socialist Alliance], since it was founded in 1960, there have been no cases of such attacks, harassment or physical retaliation against informers," stated the affidavit.

As for the public disapproval informers fear, it is simply a fact that informers disgust most people. That is no reason to keep their files secret.

At the hearing Adams did not try to defend his previous claim that the SWP is dangerous. Instead, he emphasized that informers in other cases might be scared.

Boudin asked Adams what makes informers so nervous. This is not the first time the government has tried to use informers' fears as an excuse for secrecy.

Adams explained that "the whole trend toward government disclosure" bothers informers. He pointed to the congressional committees that probed FBI crimes last year, the Fred Hampton case in Chicago, the Freedom of Information Act, and occasional leaks to newspapers.

Actually, as an affidavit by the socialists explains, "The plummeting credibility of the FBI—and the resulting drop in morale of its agents and informers—is not the result of disclosure of FBI files in the abstract. It is the result of FBI wrongdoing that is shown in these files."

### Political informers

The hearing was a unique legal challenge. This is the first time the government's right to use political agents has been contested in the courts.

"Where they have investigations into political activities of law-abiding organizations by lawless police," Boudin said, ". . . the informants who engage in lawless acts have to have their names revealed."

Boudin pointed to the examples of Gary Rowe and Howard Godfrey, FBI informers in the Ku Klux Klan and the right-wing Secret Army Organization. Rowe had helped beat up Black civil rights Freedom Riders in the 1960s. Godfrey had tried to assassinate an antiwar leader in San Diego.

"Those informants who knew they were engaging in violence have no right to be protected," Boudin insisted.

"It may require an educational campaign," the attorney suggested. "The FBI may have to tell informants, 'If you are engaged in informing in lawful organizations and you yourself have engaged in burglaries and other

## Stop the executions!

As the *Militant* went to press November 10, the Utah Supreme Court had reconsidered its stay of execution granted earlier in the week to Gary Mark Gilmore (see article on page 13). Gilmore is scheduled to face a firing squad at 8:00 a.m. Monday, November 15.

Gilmore has spent most of his life behind bars and has twice been committed to state mental hospitals. He says he'd rather face the firing squad than serve out a life sentence.

Georgia and Texas officials are also moving ahead with plans for their first executions in a decade. Their hands have been untied by recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions legalizing reinstitution of the death penalty throughout the country.

Appeals, legal moves, and requests for pardons have so far postponed all scheduled executions. But state officials are pressing to clear away the obstacles to what can only be called a bloodbath. More than 600 people are on America's death rows today, the majority of them Black.

Of course, every possible legal channel must be tried. Yet opponents of the death penalty must not be lulled into a false security by temporary victories. The Utah Supreme Court's reversal of its stay of execution is a grim reminder.

Time won in the courts must be used to mount a massive public outcry against each and every planned execution.

Right now the NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union are fighting the battle in the courts. They have also joined with other civil rights and civil liberties organizations, churches, social groups, and many others in coalitions to stop legalized murder.

The Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty is a good example. Initiated by the ACLU after last July's Supreme Court decision, the committee has sponsored picket lines, debates, rallies, and petition campaigns. When Georgia officials set the first execution date, the coalition immediately responded with a news conference, campaign of protest messages, and redoubling of its efforts to publicize a previously scheduled rally.

Supporters of Black rights have a special stake in the struggle against the death penalty. As Texas legislator Lou Nelle Sutton put it, "When the first Texan dies in the electric chair—be he Black, Brown, or poor white—Jim Crow will have his hand on the switch."

There is no time to lose. Every second is precious, because human lives hang in the balance. Five days from today Gary Mark Gilmore may become the first victim of this barbaric relic of the Dark Ages. A powerful action campaign is needed now to demand:

*Stop the executions!*  
*Abolish the death penalty!*

## CP & Soviet dissent

A letter from Soviet political prisoners was made public last year. Addressed to the Communist parties of other countries, it said:

"We Soviet communist political prisoners are sure that now that you Communists of Europe and the United States know the true situation in the Soviet Union you will do everything in your power to change it."

Communist parties in France and Italy, which for many years were silent on Moscow's crimes, have recently made public statements criticizing the suppression of dissenters in the Soviet Union.

Whatever the motives behind these statements, they have not gone unnoticed in Moscow. Last winter, for example, publicity given by the French CP to the case of Leonid Plyushch aided the worldwide effort that led to his release from a Soviet "mental hospital."

More recently, on October 21 thousands of people heard a leader of the French CP speak on the same platform with Plyushch at a Paris rally to defend political prisoners in Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay—and in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet news agency TASS criticized the French CP for taking part in what it called "a dirty project."

Similarly, the American CP has slandered critics of Moscow's repressive policies, calling them "anti-Soviet" and "anti-socialist."

In its own defense, the French CP has had to answer such charges. "Freedom and socialism are inseparable," it wrote in its newspaper in response to TASS.

"Criticizing those aspects of Soviet reality that require it is not anti-Sovietism."

All defenders of democratic and human rights should challenge the American CP to quit covering up for Moscow's crimes and join with its sister organizations in France and Italy in repudiating the suppression of Soviet dissenters.

### It's their government

Although I am a member of the Socialist Labor party, I wish to express my total support for your fight against government spying and disruption of the Socialist Workers party along with the Black movement and the left in general.

The continuing revelations of FBI repression exposed by your suit constitute an invaluable social studies lesson on how this government runs and who runs it. Undoubtedly many Americans now realize that the real subverters of the Constitution and its democratic guarantees are the various ruling-class politicians sworn to uphold it. But then it is *their* government—not ours, the working majority.

Finally, it is important to realize that no matter how many promises the FBI makes about ceasing all harassment of social activists, all such promises are as trustworthy as the people making them. The state remains the executive committee of those who own industry, and it will continue to do whatever it deems necessary to preserve the status quo, including violating the rights of those seeking to change it.

As the great American Marxist and founder of the Socialist Labor party, Daniel DeLeon, pointed out, it matters not what laws are on the books, it's a matter of what class is in charge of enforcing them. So long as capitalism rules, we can be sure that the Bill of Rights and all democratic liberties will be so much poetry without any reality.  
*James Frederic Brinning*  
*New York, New York*

### 'We Almost Lost Detroit'

Readers of the *Militant* will be interested to know that *We Almost Lost Detroit* is available in paperback from Ballantine Books, 201 East Fiftieth Street, New York, New York 10022.

The book is a factual and quite frankly frightening account of a near disaster at an atomic energy plant just thirty miles from the fifth largest city in the United States.

It seems ludicrous that the ruling class spends so much on deadly sources of energy such as nuclear power while doing next to nothing about developing solar and wind energy. I hope that the *Militant* will analyze this situation in a future issue.

*Carl E. Rennhack*  
*Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

### ERA benefits all workers

When women began to demand equal job rights, we were told we would lose the special "privileges" created to "protect" us. We argued that so-called protective legislation, in actuality, prevented us from better-paid jobs and promotions. We said that instead of women losing anything worthwhile, men should gain from rules granting overtime pay, rest periods, etc.

A headline in the October 17 *Los Angeles Times* proved that our fight to erase double standards on the job benefits *all* workers. "Men's Room to Have Couch, Too, Under State's New Work Rules," the article stated. "For the first time in California history, male workers will receive a variety of privileges previously granted only to women and minors, including a requirement that a couch or chair for resting be provided in men's rooms, in an area separate from the toilet facilities."

The new regulations, according to the article, "grew out of efforts to provide better job opportunities and

working conditions for women."

The commission empowered to regulate wages and working conditions had announced a new set of rules in 1974 supposedly giving women workers equal job rights with men. However, the AFL-CIO filed a court case against the new rules because they had taken away benefits for women instead of raising wage and work standards for all workers. The regulations were then revamped in their present form.

In addition to gaining a place to rest, men workers now must be paid overtime after eight hours of work per day or forty hours per week and must be given lunch and rest periods.

Of course, there are many loopholes built into the rules, and the standards are inadequate. But certain gains have been won—primarily as a result of the stubborn fight of women for equal rights.

This new situation in California, which has a state Equal Rights Amendment, is another good argument for passage of the federal Equal Rights Amendment.

*Evelyn Sell*  
*Los Angeles, California*

### Steel pamphlet sells well

Recent issues of the *Militant* have urged supporters to sell the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy In Steel* at plant gates and meetings. In an initial experience, I found this isn't hard to do.

With 125 people attending the recent Los Angeles meeting for Ed Sadlowski, three of us sold twenty-one copies very easily.

In addition, thirteen copies of the *Militant* were sold, plus two introductory subscriptions.

The Socialist Workers platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," was also well received.

One young Chicano steelworker mentioned he had seen Peter Camejo on TV and said he intended to vote for him.

Incidentally, in connection with the elections, there was an interesting aspect to the meeting itself. Many union meetings in the period before the elections were devoted to exhorting the members to get out the vote for Carter and other Democratic candidates.

In the Fightback meeting, which lasted more than three hours, I didn't hear a single mention of Carter or other Democrats.

These steelworkers seem to be looking to themselves and their union for solutions to their problems, not to Democratic politicians.

*Chris Hildebrand*  
*Los Angeles, California*

### Freedom of speech

Recently, a woman worker who was running for union office was given a letter of reprimand for having leaflets in her possession that advocated her candidacy. The company felt that any kind of literature on company property had to have their prior approval. In blunt terms, they felt that when a worker sells his or her labor power, he or she has also sold a soul.

Unfortunately for the company, they found that the rights supposedly guarded by the Bill of Rights don't stop at the plant gates. Some co-workers of the woman didn't agree with the company. So they went to the local university law library and looked at the *Labor Law Reporter*.

The case that they found was the *National Labor Relations Board v.*



# By Any Means Necessary

**Baxter Smith**



## About those promises...

Er, gimme a Bromo. And coffee—black, please. It's time to take a sober look at what Black America can expect, post November 2.

No cracks or clichés this week. I won't tell you I plan to rush out and pay down on a new car to put in the garage of the new home I plan to buy with the money from the new job I'll get now that the Carter administration will be righteously taking care of Black folks.

Nope, this week and next you're getting the unprettied, Plains truth.

Jimmy Carter owes his victory to the Black vote on November 2. Analysts say he got 93 percent of Black votes.

"In every state where he squeaked through, it was Blacks who made the difference," said C. Delores Tucker, Pennsylvania's Black secretary of state.

"The Black votes in Philadelphia alone gave him 178,000 votes. He carried the state by only 123,000 votes."

In the weeks up to election day the Black community was barraged by the largest ever "get out the vote" campaign.

There had been predictions that the Black vote would follow the pattern of recent years and be dismally low. Consequently, two national projects to stimulate voter participation—Operation Big Vote and Wake Up Black America—were set into motion. The Black media carried constant appeals, and Black celebrities went on a city-by-city tour to turn out the vote—for Carter.

Preliminary figures show that the effort paid off, somewhat. About 44 percent of voting-age Blacks went to the polls, compared with 34 percent of voting-age Blacks in the 1974 congressional elections. Nevertheless, the percentage of registered Blacks who voted November 2 declined by five points from the figure for the 1972 presidential election.

Carter, a *New York Times* editorial said, "would have almost certainly not been elected at all without the overwhelming support of black voters in both North and South."

Carter's deputy state coordinator in Texas, who is Black, said the Black vote margin will force Carter to go beyond "paying homage to Black voters . . . Blacks are going to demand to sit in council with the president, to advise him as to where Black people should be going."

But the question is: Will he go beyond "paying homage" to really do something about the problems of Black Americans?

Carter has several promises to keep. One of his first acts in office should be to free the Wilmington Ten, if he intends to keep his word. During the campaign one of Carter's chief aides said, in reply to whether he would act to free the ten, that Carter "will give the Wilmington Ten case the attention it deserves." That has to mean freedom.

The aide added that Carter "will not tolerate the kind of racist injustice that has so often put civil rights leaders in prison."

That must mean that Carter will free other victims of racist injustice such as the Charlotte Three, Gary Tyler, Delbert Tibbs, Paul X Moody, Lewis 17X Dupree, Stanton Story, J.B. Johnson, Hurricane Carter, John Artis, and others.

It must mean that Carter will also set free the many unjustly accused Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Indian leaders.

That's just for starters. At his Harlem campaign rally, Carter pledged to Black people his "commitment to equal justice that [has] been so often lacking for eight years."

Next week's column will discuss what that promise has to mean.

*Magnavox Company of Tennessee, U.S. Supreme Court, October Term.*

When this worker was given her reprimand, the company was also given a letter informing them of the legal precedents and that their action was clearly illegal. The company was surprised and unhappy. When other leaflets relating to union business were handed out at the plant gate on company property, they still tried to threaten the person handing out the leaflets. But they took no action against him.

The courts have ruled that any material relating to union affairs may be handed out on company time and property so long as such activity does not interfere with production. The material does not have to deal solely with union matters, and it does not have to have union approval.

The union's next grievance committee meeting took up the matter and decided to take the grievance. Even if the union hadn't backed the grievance, an immediate appeal to the NLRB would have been possible.

Presently, the grievance is at the pre-arbitration stage. How long we have these rights is an open question, and won't definitively be decided until these petty despots called capitalists are replaced by workers who can then assure our rights.

*Randy Erb  
Houston, Texas*

### A socialist America

Recently when I was interviewing Young Socialist Alliance team members for a *Militant* article, a point was made to me several times that I did not have space for in the article.

"People are taking our proposals for socialism very seriously," the touring campaigners said, "but these people want to know concretely what a socialist America will be like. We very much need literature on this."

*Dick Roberts  
New York, New York*

### Kind words for Camejo

Edgar Wallace, president of the Kentucky state conference of the NAACP, is a Carter supporter, but that didn't prevent him from having a few kind words for the campaign of Peter Camejo.

In response to a question from a campus newspaper reporter about the campaigns of Gene McCarthy and Peter Camejo, he said that he had stayed up the night before to watch Camejo on the "Tomorrow" show. Wallace said the socialist candidate represented himself very well and that there weren't any of his ideas that he didn't agree with. However, he continues to support Carter because he feels that Carter can be elected and thus has more of a chance to do some good for Black people.

The NAACP president went on to say, "I don't think the FBI has a right to harass this party, they [the SWP] have a right to do their own thing like any other political party."

*Bronson Rozier  
Lexington, Kentucky*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## Women in Revolt

**Cindy Jaquith**



## Woes of a CP candidate

It takes a strong stomach to be a candidate on the Communist party ticket.

Consider the elections that just ended. If you were a CP candidate, your platform was to the right of Gerald Ford's on the question of the Equal Rights Amendment. The CP opposed the ERA.

Your party upheld the persecution of Soviet dissidents. It also backed the oppression of gay people.

As a candidate, you weren't supposed to say much about women's right to abortion. In fact, you weren't supposed to say much about women period.

You *were* allowed to talk about the war budget, as long as you made it clear the CP only wants to cut it by 80 percent. And you were allowed to criticize Carter, as long as you didn't criticize the "antimonopoly" Democrats running for lesser seats.

All this led some reporters to give the CP what it considered unflattering coverage. Take the article by Geoffrey Stokes in the October 25 *Village Voice*, a New York weekly, on the race for U.S. Senate in New York State. Stokes aptly characterized the CP candidate, veteran Stalinist Herbert Aptheker, as "stuck with believing that homosexuality is bourgeois decadence, that the ERA is a capitalist ploy, and that the Russian suppression of dissident writers and artists is keen."

Stokes's conclusion: "One could vote for him only in terminal desperation."

The *Voice* writer then added: "Such desperation is avoided by the presence of the Socialist Workers candidate, Marcia Gallo. . . the SWP serves as a salutary reminder that it is possible to be a socialist without being a Stalinist."

In the next issue of the paper, eleven of its women staff members concurred with Stokes's assessment and signed a letter endorsing Gallo's campaign. "Our right to choose abortion is too recently acquired for us to be sure we will keep it," they wrote. "The Equal Rights Amendment has still to be ratified by enough states to become part of the Constitution."

The women staffers didn't even mention the Aptheker campaign.

But the letters column that week had another letter that did mention Aptheker. It was written by the New York CP campaign manager, José Ristorucci.

Ristorucci was upset by Stokes's article, which he implied was an unjust description of Aptheker's platform. "Dr. Aptheker has told me that not one position attributed to him in the article was discussed by your reporter. He was never asked about homosexuality, the ERA, women, or anything else that appeared in the article.

"In short, the material referring to Aptheker was phony as well as malicious," Ristorucci complained.

Stokes replied: "Alert readers will notice that this letter doesn't deny the accuracy of the repressive positions I attributed to Dr. Aptheker. . . If Aptheker wishes to dissociate himself from the official Stalinist position on gays, women, and Soviet dissidents, he's picked a rather odd way to do it."

It's hard to tell what the CP found most "malicious" about the article. Was it the public airing of the Stalinists' reactionary stand on the ERA, a position that is unpopular with many of the CP's own members? Was it Stokes's observation that genuine socialism has nothing in common with Stalinism's antigay, antiwoman, antidemocratic policies? Or was it the article's endorsement of Marcia Gallo?

It certainly was *not* that the CP's rotten platform was misrepresented by Stokes. Nowhere in his letter does Ristorucci even suggest that the CP has changed its line on any of these questions. Instead he asks that Aptheker "be judged on his own merits, and not on the basis of factional spite."

In my opinion, Aptheker has been judged on his merits. If he wants to get all those "spiteful" women, gays, and supporters of democratic rights off his back, why doesn't he take some distance from the Phyllis Schlaflys, the Billy Grahams, and the Kremlin secret police agents?



Israeli cops arrest Palestinian protester

# Israel & South Africa: partners in racism



South African cops beat striking Black worker

## By Peter Seidman

Since March, scenes of brutal attacks by Israeli cops and troops on massive and peaceful Palestinian protests have occurred both inside Israel and in its occupied Arab territories. These scenes have reminded many people of the racist attacks on Blacks that were common during civil rights demonstrations in the United States.

The Israeli brutality has convinced many supporters of the Zionist regime to take a second look at its claims to be a haven for democracy in the Middle East.

In April an official visit to Israel by South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster highlighted the racist nature of Zionism.

This fall the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid released a report on "Relations between Israel and South Africa." The report was issued to call attention to Vorster's visit. It documents the stepped-up collaboration between the Zionist state and the hated apartheid regime.

During the 1960s Israel adopted a public stance of opposition to apartheid. This was dictated by its diplomatic efforts to achieve support from African states. This led to a chilling of Israel's relations with South Africa, which had recognized the newly established Zionist state in 1948.

During the June 1967 Mideast war, however, the South African government suspended all its regulations limiting the flow of funds to Israel.

*Die Burger*, organ of the ruling National party in Cape Province, stated its reasons for supporting this policy shift: "Israel and South Africa have a common lot. Both are engaged in a struggle for existence. . . . Both are reliable foci of strength within the region, which would, without them, fall into anti-Western anarchy. It is in South Africa's interest that Israel is successful in containing her enemies. . . . The anti-Western powers have driven Israel and South Africa into a community of interests which had better be utilized than denied."

Nonetheless, Israeli diplomatic objectives in Africa still strained relations between the two regimes.

After its diplomatic ties with many African states were broken during the October 1973 war, however, Israel shifted its stance toward the apartheid regime.

Since then, Israel has abstained or been absent for votes on every anti-apartheid resolution introduced in the United Nations.

This improvement in relations has greatly heartened South Africa's racists. An editorial in the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* hailed Vorster's recent Israeli visit. South Africa, the editorial said, "has, in fact, acquired . . . a public friend, an avowed ally, at a time when this country confronts an increasingly hostile world and an increasingly aggressive Black Africa."

## Military collaboration

Israel has played an important role in equipping South Africa with military technology and counterinsurgency skills. The Israeli-designed Uzi machine gun is now standard equipment in the South African army. The UN report cites news accounts that Israel might supply its Gabriel sea-borne missile to South Africa.

According to press reports, one of the items discussed during the Vorster visit was a possible exchange of South African uranium for sales of the new and highly advanced Israeli jet fighter, the Kfir. In August 1976, Israeli radio announced that Israel was building two long-range gunboats armed with missiles for the South African navy.

In addition, the UN report notes the disclosure by Gen. Meir Amit, former head of Israel's intelligence services, that Israeli military leaders regularly visit

and collaborate with South African brass on counterinsurgency and other warfare techniques.

For example, on April 3, 1976, the Johannesburg correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* reported that Israeli officers had closely collaborated with the South African army in planning its invasion of Angola. This—as in the case of Israel's raid on Uganda last July—shows how the Zionist regime serves as a military club against the freedom struggle in Africa.

## Trade and investment

Stepped-up military collaboration has been paralleled by a growth of trade and investment between the two countries.

The table on this page shows the jump in trade following the June 1967 and October 1973 wars.

The balance of trade has recently been shifting in South Africa's favor. This heightens the importance of the Israeli market to the apartheid regime.

One Israeli import from South Africa is not included in the figures in the table—raw diamonds. Israel buys these through the London-based Central Selling Organization of the De Beers Corporation of South Africa. Israel, which is one of the world's leading diamond processors, reportedly buys almost half of its raw diamonds this way, an amount exceeding \$100 million annually.

In April 1975, South Africa was designated a "preferred export target" by the Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry.

The two countries have also stepped up mutual investments. The former Israeli consul-general to South Africa explained the motivation: "With South Africa's abundance of raw materials, and Israel's know-how, we can really go places if we join forces."

The *Johannesburg Star* of April 17, 1976, reported another reason. According to the *Star*, the Israeli trade consul pointed out that South Africa is rich in low-paid Black labor. Exploitation of these Black workers boosts profits on investments there—as does the poorly paid Arab labor inside Israel.

Direct investment has taken place primarily through joint undertakings by private and public corporations.

This has proved especially useful for South Africa. By establishing a manufacturing base inside Israel, joint investment ventures provide South Africa a way to evade the international boycott against it. The apartheid regime also uses Israel as a springboard to circumvent high tariffs on its products by the European Economic Community and the United States.

Koors Industries, a major industrial investment company owned by the Histadrut—Israel's trade-union organization—controls 51 percent of Iskoor, a partnership with the South African Iron and Steel

Corporation.

Iskoor distributes steel in Israel. The new venture is now building a steel processing plant at Kirjat, near Gaza in Israeli-occupied Arab territory.

## Zionism

This partnership between South Africa and Israel presides over the barbaric exploitation of Black Africans and Palestinian Arabs. Both regimes are bulwarks of reactionary opposition to the struggles of oppressed majorities for national self-determination.

Relations between the Zionists and the racist white settlers of South Africa are not new. They go back to the friendship and cooperation between Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann and South Africa's first prime minister, Gen. Jan Christian Smuts.

Smuts, a member of the Imperial War Council of the British empire during World War I, was one of the chief architects of the Balfour Declaration, which codified Britain's support for Zionist colonization in Palestine.

It was only the backing of British and then U.S. imperialism that allowed the white South African and Zionist minorities to subjugate and maintain their domination over native peoples.

The resurgence of the Palestinian and African freedom struggles has now led to a growing isolation of the Israeli and South African regimes.

By attempting to suppress these struggles, Israel and South Africa stand as props of capitalist rule in two key sectors of the world revolution. Because of their role, both regimes are favored recipients of protection from Washington.

Almost nothing exposes the reactionary character of Zionism so clearly as its ties to South Africa.

Zionist organizations in South Africa have given full support to apartheid in order to win their government's support for Israel.

In a speech to the Eighth International Conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in July 1953, Rabbi Dr. M.C. Weiler said, "The Jews as a community had decided to take no stand on the native question. . . . The community could not ask for the government's permission to export funds and goods and at the same time object to the government."

In making themselves allies of the apartheid regime, South Africa's Zionists have dealt a severe blow to the real interests of Jews.

Rabid anti-Semitism was a key feature of South Africa's National party until, for its own reasons, it recognized Israel and put on a smiling mask toward South African Jews.

This move was not made out of any sudden change of heart, but out of a desire to bolster white solidarity and to head off any migration of Jewish capital and skills from South Africa.

Zionism, in its claim to speak for South Africa's 118,000 Jews, puts them on the wrong side of the struggle for Black majority rule. Clearly there can be no salvation for Jews in going down with the sinking ship of South African racism.

Can anyone believe the Zionists' claim that Israel—where the stormy waves of the Arab freedom struggle have not yet risen as high as in southern Africa—will be any more secure a vessel in the long run?

The policies of South African and Israeli Zionists separate the Jewish people from their real allies. Their real allies are not racist minority regimes armed to the teeth against those they oppress. The real allies of the Jews are the masses fighting against these regimes and against U.S. imperialism, which backs them up.

It is these capitalist governments that, as the crisis of their system deepens, have resorted time and again to anti-Semitism as part of their drive to smash the struggles of all the oppressed.

Israel's trade with South Africa  
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	Exports to South Africa	Imports from South Africa
1965	2.7	4.3
1966	2.3	4.5
1967	4.0	3.4
1968	5.7	5.2
1969	8.2	5.8
1970	10.7	10.2
1971	9.4	8.1
1972	8.8	11.6
1973	12.0	34.3
1974	28.7	43.1

SOURCE: "Relations Between Israel and South Africa," UN Special Committee against Apartheid, page 17. Based on Israeli government statistics.

# Three states move closer to executions

By José G. Pérez

Three states took steps this month to carry out the first executions in this country since 1967, as opponents of the death penalty continued

A rally to "End the Death Penalty—Free Gary Tyler" has been scheduled for Wednesday, November 17, at 8:00 p.m. at New York University, Main Building, 100 Washington Square Park East, Room 703.

Speakers include Juanita Tyler, Gary Tyler's mother; Michael Meyers, assistant national executive director of the NAACP; Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; and Maceo Dixon of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

to organize to stop such legalized murders.

In Georgia, judges have set four execution dates. But Gov. George Busbee has announced he will grant

ninety-day stays in all cases so officials can consider commutations.

Opposition to capital punishment there is being organized by the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty, which held a rally of more than 300 people in Atlanta October 23.

Mayor Maynard Jackson declared October 23 abolish the death penalty day and urged "all Atlantans to join in a public campaign to abolish the death penalty."

In Utah, the state supreme court has stayed the execution of Gary Mark Gilmore, who was to face a firing squad November 15. State affiliates of both the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP spoke out against the execution.

In Texas last month, a judge set a January 19 date for the execution of Jerry Lane Jurek.

The following morning, a Dallas judge set November 22 as the execution date for Ernest Benjamin Smith. Smith's case drives home the real meaning of the death penalty.

According to John Duncan of the

Texas ACLU, Smith is a twenty-eight-year-old Black Vietnam veteran. When he left the service, he got a job with Texas Instruments in Dallas, but then was arrested on marijuana charges.

A judge sentenced Smith to probation, but Texas Instruments fired him. No one else would hire him. So Smith took part in a robbery. Smith's accomplice shot the storekeeper.

In Texas, taking part in a robbery where someone is killed can get you electrocuted, especially if you aren't white.

The Dallas Black community was outraged by the setting of the November 22 execution date, especially since Smith's lawyers have until December 11 to appeal his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Dallas judge was so trigger-happy he didn't want to wait. But Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell stayed the execution.

Fifty people attended a November 5 meeting at the Martin Luther King Community Center in Dallas to

protest the death penalty. Most of the participants were Blacks. They came from a broad array of community forces, including representatives of the Catholic Diocese of Dallas, the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, the Elks, the Knights of Pythias, and the ACLU. Smith's sister, ex-wife, and two sons—ages eight and eleven—were also present.

The meeting, initiated by People United for Justice to Prisoners, unanimously agreed to form the Dallas Coalition Against the Death Penalty. It scheduled a demonstration for November 21.

There have also been steps toward forming coalitions in other parts of Texas. Henry Schwartzchild, director of the ACLU's national campaign against the death penalty, spoke to two protest meetings in Austin and San Antonio at the end of October.

State ACLU officials say a Texas Coalition Against the Death Penalty is being formed. They expect initial efforts to focus on the case of Jerry Lane Jurek.

## What's at stake in United Parcel strike

By Ed Heisler

Eighteen thousand Teamster union members, on strike against United Parcel Service since September 15, have shown they can shut down the company's East Coast operations and cripple UPS nationally.

But their chances of winning their demands are being undercut by the treachery of federal mediators and top Teamster officials.

The strike involves seventy-four Teamster locals in fifteen Eastern states from Maine to South Carolina. These locals represent all UPS drivers and inside workers who sort and handle the packages at company warehouses and terminals.

UPS is offering union members a 33 percent pay increase spread out over three years plus a limited cost-of-living clause.

In return for this badly needed wage increase, the company demands major concessions on union work rules, including reduction or elimination of higher pay for night work and gradual replacement of full-time inside workers with part-timers.

The main issue in this strike is the preservation of full-time union jobs. As full-time workers are fired, resign, die, or retire, the company wants to replace them with part-time workers to handle sorting and loading during peak periods. The part-timers are paid two dollars an hour less and receive fewer fringe benefits.



UPS strikers picket in Alexandria, Virginia

The main concern of the Teamster union officialdom, however, is not the jobs or working conditions of the union members. They have already signed contracts in other areas of the country agreeing to the replacement of full-timers.

Strikers believe the union brass is far more interested in forcing UPS to make monthly payments into the

union's depleted pension funds for every part-timer hired.

Since most part-timers are college students who work only two to four years, they'll never collect a cent of the employer's contributions into "their" pension fund.

Big money is involved here—not for the part-time workers, but for the union officialdom. Whether even those

UPS workers who reach retirement age will ever see that money is questionable. The graft-ridden Teamsters pension funds are well known for risky investments, loans to criminal figures, and other shady dealings.

The strike is having a major national impact. Thousands of plants, mail-order firms, and other businesses that rely on UPS to get their goods out to retailers are being hurt badly.

In an act of desperation bordering on suicide, frantic shippers are turning to the U.S. Postal Service for deliveries. Shippers complain, however, that goods are lost, delayed, or destroyed by the post office, which uses a new computerized package sorting machine nicknamed by postal workers "the masher." Since the post office doesn't have enough workers to handle the load, packages are piling up—waiting to be mashed, bashed, and smashed.

Despite the militancy displayed by the union ranks, the Teamster bureaucracy is liable to make major concessions to UPS. James Searce, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, tipped off the membership on what to expect when he said: "Both sides have demonstrated a willingness . . . to be flexible in their approaches."

In the language of federal mediators, "flexible" means the union gives in. And Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has demonstrated many times that in that sense he's a very "flexible" guy.

## Protest frame-up of electrical union organizers

By Sally Rees

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Chanting "No frame-up, no jail, the ATF's the one to nail," more than 300 people marched here October 30 to the local offices of the Federal Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Bureau (ATF). They were protesting government attempts to victimize two local labor organizers, Alex Markley and Antonio Soares.

Markley has been an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) in western Massachusetts for seven years. Soares is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The two unionists were indicted for "conspiracy to damage and destroy by means of an explosive, vehicles used in interstate commerce."

Markley and Soares's efforts to

defend themselves against these phony charges have won support from all regional and local units of the UE, along with the Pioneer Valley Central Labor Council, the Springfield Central Labor Union, and the Holyoke Central Labor Council. Altogether these unions represent some 52,000 workers.

U.S. Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) has called for the dropping of charges and the opening of a congressional investigation into undercover ATF activities.

A defense committee meeting held October 28 at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst was addressed by speakers from the Washington Post press operators union—fifteen of whose members are also under indictment for strike activity. Also speaking at the campus meeting were Margaret Van Hoover from Counterspy maga-

zine and Sidney Peck, a professor and political activist from Clark University.

This widespread support shows a growing awareness in the labor movement of the need to join with Black, antiwar, and socialist activists in the struggle against government secret-police operations.

Markley was arrested July 8. He was accused of giving a cardboard toilet-paper tube with black powder and a firecracker wick to an ATF provocateur named O'Reilly. O'Reilly had persistently approached Markley during a three-month strike last year carried out by UE Local 259 against the Worthington Compressor Company. He had offered to help stop scab trucks.

Soares is accused of giving O'Reilly three more such tubes—two weeks

after the Worthington strike had already been won!

There were no violent incidents or explosions during the strike, and charges were not filed until eight months later.

ATF agents held Markley for twelve hours after his arrest. During that time they interrogated him about the affairs of his and other union locals. They pressured him to become a paid informer. If he did so, they offered to intercede for him during his trial.

As Markley explained in the October 13 *Valley Advocate*, he was given "the choice of selling out my friends for the rest of my life or taking the chance that the public will get mad when they learn about it and say 'enough' to this police state stuff."

Markley and Soares's trial date is expected to be set in early February.



# Denver Crusade for Justice broadens its threats against movement activists

By Olga Rodríguez

The latest issue of *El Gallo*, publication of the Denver Crusade for Justice, contains threats of violence against movement activists who signed an appeal calling on Crusade leader, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales to renounce violence as a way to settle differences within the movement.

The "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" was circulated following an unprovoked assault on SWP leaders Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey in the Crusade's headquarters in early October (see the *Militant*, October 15, 1976). It has been signed by more than forty prominent movement activists, including many in the Denver Chicano community.

In addition to the threats in *El Gallo*, there have been acts of vandalism and further threats against the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in Denver.

## Militant bookstore vandalized

On October 23, book displays were upset and the glass door kicked in at the Militant Bookstore and SWP headquarters in Denver. On October 26, the tires on the car of YSA organizer Bruce Farnsworth were slashed while his car was parked near the building where the Metropolitan State College YSA office is located.

There were no witnesses to this incident. However, witnesses to the vandalism at the SWP's offices said the man who kicked in the door shouted that SWP and YSA members would be attacked again if they continued to associate with Elfecho Baca. The man has not been identified.

A member of the YSA, Baca has been threatened by Crusade members.

The issue of *El Gallo* (dated September, but printed in late October) is filled with outrageous and irresponsible slanders against Baca, the SWP, the YSA, and signers of the "Declara-



Bookshelves were overturned and pamphlets scattered in October 23 attack on Denver SWP headquarters.

tion Against Violence in the Movement."

Five out of twelve pages in *El Gallo* are devoted to articles and "letters" of this type. Included in the paper is a large cartoon on page 2 labeling the YSA, the Mafia, CIA, and FBI as "Birds of a Feather."

A "letter" on the same page accuses the YSA of being "pig apparatus organizations," and talks about "the opportunity" the "Chicano movement" now has to "rid ourselves of these pests and parasites." (The cartoon and letter are reprinted elsewhere on this page of the *Militant*.)

The same kind of verbal violence is directed at signers of the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement," a number of whom are nationally known leaders of the Chicano, Black, Puerto Rican, and peace movements. They are labeled "poverty parasites," "agents of the system," supporters of informers, and "people who will go jack up another Chicano over a dime bag of weed."

## Threat to signers

The "letter" concludes by addressing the following threat to signers of the declaration:

"Maybe we have been too occupied in facing the fascists and have neglected those within our own circles who are as dangerous as the criminals against who we are struggling.

"Violence? As revolutionists we are working toward the day when violence will be a negligent part of human activity but until that day we will continue to be ready to confront the enemies of the people and the enemies of the progressive movement of our people.

"If you can't do anything for the movement," the writer concludes, "don't do anything against it because . . ." The closing dots are in the original.

In an obvious attempt to provide themselves some cover, the editors of *El Gallo* print this threat under the heading "Letters/Cartas." There is no signature on the "letter," which is prominently laid out to occupy almost a full page.

## Baca slandered

Another article in the paper contains a series of slanders directed at Elfecho Baca, against whom the Crusade has a particular vendetta. An example of the accuracy of these tales is the following claim that last spring Baca "tried unsuccessfully to have a petition signed to prevent Rodolfo Corky Gonzales from speaking at La Alma Park, Cinco de Mayo."

Cinco de Mayo (May 5) is a traditional Mexican holiday also celebrated by

many Chicanos. Last spring Baca, along with more than forty other Chicano students from three Denver campuses, signed a petition that stated:

"We understand that Cinco de Mayo activities were to be a mutual tri-campus endeavor of concerned Chicano students wanting to create an effective and useful presentation of an event of historical significance to the Chicano people. Therefore all monies utilized to carry out the activities for this event were to have the approval of all concerned and not any one particular group.

"The decision to grant \$1,000 to one speaker by MECHA, Metro State College with 13 voting yes and 6 voting no, did not represent our mutual agreement of cooperation with all campuses taking part in the decision-making process. The fate of this issue should have been voted on with all three campuses participating, which did not take place. . . .

"The issue was not even a topic of discussion on MECHA's agenda and was brought out and voted on before the official meeting began. We the undersigned feel this maneuver is not in keeping with the principles of consideration and respect between peers, and is an obstacle to the spirit of cooperation."

Nowhere did the petition object to Gonzales as a speaker, but simply to the procedure by which a very large speakers fee was decided upon.

Baca was later elected chairperson of the Metro MECHA chapter on a slate not supported by the Crusade. This is the source of the vendetta against Baca.

In September Baca was physically threatened by Ernesto Vigil, a Crusade leader. Two hours later, at a regular MECHA meeting and without previous notice, the Crusade launched an attempt to impeach Baca as chairperson. The attempt failed and the atmosphere was tense.

Because of the physical threats against Baca, SWP leaders Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey, at the requests of the YSA, went to the Crusade's headquarters October 1 to try to speak to Gonzales and ease tensions. There they were physically assaulted.

## Refusal to condemn violence

The Crusade leadership uses the September issue of *El Gallo* to reaffirm its refusal to do the one and only thing the signers of the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" call on them to do: to state clearly and unequivocally that the Crusade and its leaders are "in favor of the simple democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisal from anyone, including those who may disagree within the movement."

On the contrary, the entire issue of the paper is an attempt by the Crusade leadership to justify the slanders and

*Continued on page 26*

## Declaration against violence in movement

Disturbing reports of the use of physical violence by members of the Crusade for Justice have come to our attention. This underlines the urgent need for decisive action to deescalate tensions in the movement and to ensure that physical intimidation does not interfere with the free exchange of political views.

Recent public revelations about the FBI have shown that fomenting violent conflicts within the movement is one of the government's favorite disruptive tactics. This is all the more reason for us to work to bring such incidents to an end.

We hope you will take a stand in favor of the simple democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisal from anyone, including those who may disagree within the movement. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defense against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our point of view.

The forces opposing progressive social change in the United States are very powerful. The unity necessary to overcome these forces can only be achieved if we respect each other's democratic rights.

## Crusade threats



[This cartoon and letter appeared together on page 2 of the September issue of *El Gallo*, newspaper of the Crusade for Justice.]

I recently read a petition addressed to Corky Gonzales and the Crusade For Justice. The petition requested that the Crusade be nice and non-violent. I would like to make a few comments about that petition, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers party and those who support the petition.

Are the Y.S.A. pig apparatus organizations? They claim to have been around for many years and yet they seem to have never encountered the legal hassles Chicano movement people have encountered. Why are both organizations so infiltrated with provocateurs and informers? When have they ever been in the front lines of confrontation or police attacks? Theirs is a history of spreading confusion, division and attempts to gain influences and leadership of the Chicano movement in the Southwest. If they as they claim, have been so active for so many years where is the progress and product of their work?

Their condescending and patronizing attitude towards Chicanos indicates their lack of appreciation for the fact that Chicanos are fully capable of understanding economic and social sciences and fully capable of developing and directing our own revolutionary struggle. If the Y.S.A. and S.W.P. want to help in the world-wide struggle for liberation let them go to Gates Rubber Co. or Coors and spread the

message to the workers there. We as Chicanos do not need their help but they need ours. They can accomplish nothing on their own.

Now that they have staged this confrontation with the Chicano movement it will give the Chicano movement the opportunity to rid ourselves of these pests and parasites. Historically their involvement in the Chicano Labor movement has always led to disruption and temporary stagnation.

To those people who gave their names in support of the petition I address the following questions and remarks. Some of you are individuals who are actually poverty parasites. You have never done anything more than dispense tranquilizers and aid the system by confusing issues and diverting constructive progress. Sure you are agents of the system why don't you petition the pigs to quit inflicting violence on your Chicano brothers and sisters? Why don't you petition your government to stop inflicting violence on oppressed people throughout the world?

To those brothers who gave their names to the petition I ask why do you support informers and divisionists? And why all of a sudden are you so anti-violence. You are the same people who will go jack up another Chicano over a dime bag of weed. When it comes to confrontation based on principle you suddenly become ignorant and confused. When it comes to confrontation based on character you suddenly become self-righteous and become a judge. When it comes to confrontation based on political and philosophical position you run to the man, to alien self proclaimed leaders and protectors of the Chicano people.

In reality maybe the Chicano movement has been too lenient with divisionists disruptors y habladores. Maybe we have been too occupied in facing the fascists and have neglected those within our own circles who are as dangerous as the criminals against who we are struggling.

Violence? As revolutionaries we are working toward the day when violence will be a negligent part of human activity but until that day we will continue to be ready to confront the enemies of the people and the enemies of the progressive movement of our people.

If you can't do anything for the movement, don't do anything against it because . . .

## Issues appeal for condemned couple

# Irish socialist begins tour of United States

By Claire Moriarty

In April 1969 Bernadette Devlin was elected to the British Parliament. She was Irish. She was a woman. And she was only twenty-one.

She scribbled the notes for her maiden speech in parliament on the back of a telegram, then threw it away to deliver a blast at the British occupation of Ireland. Bernadette Devlin became famous.

So it was no surprise when she arrived in New York this week to find a crowd of reporters from the major dailies waiting for her at the Overseas Press Club. They wanted to hear what she would say next.

"We're in a position," she began, "where within twenty days Noel and Marie Murray are going to be hanged by the Irish Republican government. And one of the purposes of my visit to America is to attract support for them from the large element of American society which is opposed to the death penalty."

The Murrays are a young couple convicted of killing an off-duty policeman during a bank robbery. They were tried, without a jury, before Ireland's Special Criminal Court, which was set up to handle political cases.

"I think the reason the government has its mind set on executing the Murrays is to establish a precedent so the death penalty can be introduced for political offenses," she told reporters.

The press conference opened Devlin's two-week tour of major U.S. cities. She will speak on the struggle in Ireland and circulate petitions demanding that the Irish government stop the execution of the Murrays. (See ad for details.)

In answer to a reporter's question about the current situation in Ireland Devlin replied, "The first prerequisite for achieving peace in Ireland is the withdrawal of Britain from Irish affairs—in practical terms, the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland."



BERNADETTE DEVLIN

Militant/Jean Vertheim

Asked about the widely publicized "peace movement" there, Devlin explained, "I think that many of the people who follow the peace women have done so out of a genuine and sincere desire to see an end to the sectarian assassination, an end to the complete upheaval of their social and family lives. But they are being led along a garden path toward ultimately accepting whatever Britain has to offer—peacefully."

In an interview before the press conference, I asked her about the women's movement. "Many people in [the U.S.] see the peace movement as a women's movement and therefore progressive," she said. "But I think the peace movement is the greatest indictment of the failure to politicize women in Ireland."

"Given the nature of Irish society, there is a need to deal specifically with questions which affect women. I believe the question of women's liberation—of equal rights for women—is part of the socialist struggle for equality."

Later we discussed the fight for civil rights by Catholics in Ireland and by Blacks in the United States. Devlin thought that "the more the struggle sharpens, the more clearly we see it's not only a question of civil rights—of equality within the system for Catholics or Blacks. It's a question of the system itself."

"We see it internationally as one struggle. It's the system itself which necessitates the grouping of people according to religion or the color of their skin."

"My own personal development

since the civil rights movement has been—through experience with the struggle in Ireland—to move further and further left until I now accept—not from emotionalism, but from personal experience—that I am a revolutionary socialist."

I asked her how she became a socialist. She thought a minute and then answered, "Most people, like myself, are on the bottom, and—in the struggle to break even—begin to understand the forces that control our society. Their experience makes them look for answers. And for me the only logical answer was socialism. I think most people come to socialism that way."

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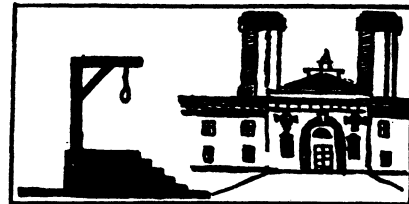
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### MUST THEY HANG?



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THE ACCUSED WERE NEITHER PRESENT NOR LEGALLY REPRESENTED DURING TWO THIRDS OF THEIR 'TRIAL'.

POLICE PERJURY HAS CONDEMNED THEM TO DEATH

Leaflet circulated by Murray Defence Committee.

## FBI connections?

# Suspect freed in 1975 L.A. bombing of SWP

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Eleven felony charges were dropped November 1 against Serge Masche, a suspect in the February 4, 1975, bombing of the Socialist Workers party headquarters here. Police had found an arsenal in Masche's apartment September 9 when they had gone there with a warrant.

Municipal Judge Elwood Lui dismissed the charges "in the interest of justice." He asserted that there was "insufficient probable cause" for issuing the warrant under which Masche was arrested.

The Los Angeles County district attorney's office said they do not intend to refile charges.

In Masche's home, police had found six machine guns, a grenade launcher, an infrared sniper scope, and a tear-gas gun, plus thousands of rounds of ammunition.

They also found a Nazi flag.

Dismissal of the charges against Masche points up the validity of the demand made by the SWP at the time of his arrest.

SWP senatorial candidate Omari Musa had then demanded that there

be a full-scale investigation of possible links between Masche and the FBI. He cited a number of recent revelations establishing complicity of the FBI and other governmental agencies with right-wing terrorist attacks on the SWP and others.

At the time of the bombing of the SWP hall, the Nazi Liberation Front took credit for the attack.

The late Joseph Tommasi, leader of the group openly boasted of the "success" of the attack in an interview with the *Los Angeles Free Press* in March 1975. Tommasi was later gunned down by a member of a rival Nazi faction.

In an effort to determine more fully why the charges were dismissed, I spoke with the district attorney's office.

After apparently consulting with someone directly involved in the prosecution, a representative, Carol Blanke, offered the following information.

Masche was arrested because he was a sympathizer of the Nazi group. Blanke said Masche had shown up at city hall demonstrations in Nazi uniform and was known to have tried to recruit people to the Nazi group.

She said the police had considered the Tommasi outfit suspect in the bombing from the outset.

In seeking the actual suspect, she said, police used a composite drawing developed on the basis of a description of the bomber provided by Lew Jones, then SWP Los Angeles organizer. Jones had stepped onto the stairway of the party offices just as the bomb was hurled.

Asked why it took more than a year and a half to apprehend the suspect, Blanke said that initially police had sought out known members of the Nazi group. They then recalled that in his interview with the *Free Press* Tommasi had asserted that the fascist gang had members and sympathizers who were not known. Police then began searching for people in that category, she said.

She did not say when or how it became known that Masche was a supporter of the Nazis.

Apparently reading from the text of the order for the search warrant, she said it appeared to indicate that an informer had led police to the suspect. But, she then added, she did not know

this as a fact.

The information on which the warrant was based apparently was not obtained recently. The judge, in finding insufficient grounds for issuing the warrant, said the information was "too stale."

Asked how the police would dispose of the arsenal seized in Masche's apartment, Blanke said that not all of it was illegal.

Those items that are illegal, such as the machine guns, would be destroyed, she said.

The rest of the arsenal would be checked to see if it was illegally obtained or if it had been used in the commission of any crime.

If not, it will be returned.

In his interview with the *Free Press* Tommasi had asserted, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the left."

It might not have been unwarranted if he had added, "And neither are the courts."

Especially if it looked like the suspect might start talking about possible ties with the FBI or other police agencies.

## By Cindy Jaquith

In the spring of 1972, while women were marching in the streets for the right to abortion, a secret document was circulating behind their backs to sabotage their struggle.

Its title: "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party."

Its author: the FBI.

Four years later, this scurrilous document has come to light through the lawsuit against government spying filed by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

"Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party" is the most extensive single FBI document yet released on the women's struggle. A few other, highly censored files on FBI surveillance of women's groups have also come out, alerting the movement as a whole to the fact that feminists have been a target of government attack.

One of the groups spied on was the National Organization for Women (NOW), which is currently seeking access to its files through the Freedom of Information Act.

This new document on the SWP and women's liberation confirms that the U.S. government has waged a persistent war against the struggle for equal rights.

It also confirms that a central weapon in the FBI's arsenal against feminism has been red-baiting.

The purpose of red-baiting is to cast suspicion on the motives of socialists, or anyone labeled a socialist. Socialists are alleged to use "manipulative" tactics to gain control of organizations, which they then supposedly use to further their own, ulterior motives.

Over the years, the government has branded trade unions, Black organizations, antiwar committees, and other organizations as "socialist-dominated" in order to drive away potential supporters.

The same charge is used in this new FBI document. Its introduction states that the report is "a penetrating look at the strategy and tactics being utilized by the SWP/YSA to influence and control the Movement."

What follows is a "history" of the SWP's participation in the feminist movement and, in particular, the leading role socialists played in the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). The FBI asserts that the SWP and YSA supported these struggles not because they believed in the goals, but only because they wanted to swell the ranks of the socialist movement.

"... their propaganda machinery, although coated with the oil of social betterment, is geared toward enlisting as many thousands of Americans as possible into a revolutionary force to achieve the SWP's political objectives," the document claims.

"The antiwar movement, student protest, black liberation, Chicano struggle—all have served as building blocks with which the SWP/YSA, with mock humanitarianism, have tried to erect a political foundation for their 'socialist' revolution," the document charges. "To the other issues used so expediently by these two groups, we now add women's liberation."

### What socialists stand for

The accusation that socialists participate in the feminist movement with no interest in ending the oppression of women, but only in "enlisting recruits," is an outrageous lie. Anyone who has been active in the feminist movement knows that members of the SWP have been among the most dedicated, consistent fighters for women's liberation.

SWP members do not hide our socialist views in the movement. On the contrary, we actively urge other women to join the fight for socialism to help rid this society of the inequalities that breed sexism, racism, and war.

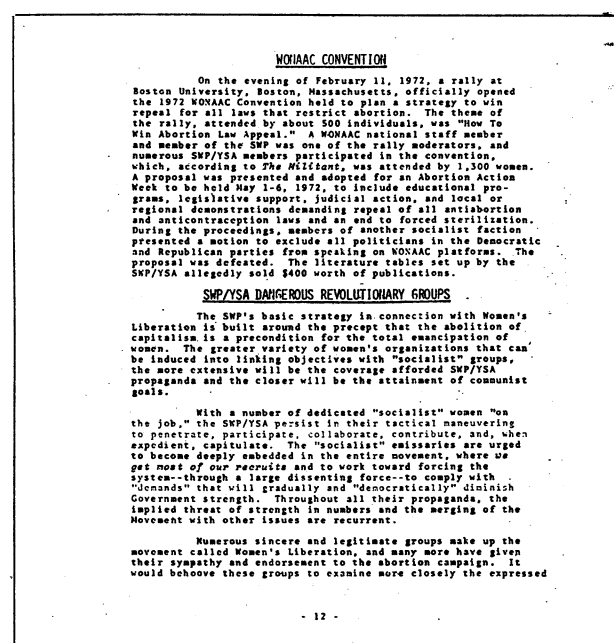
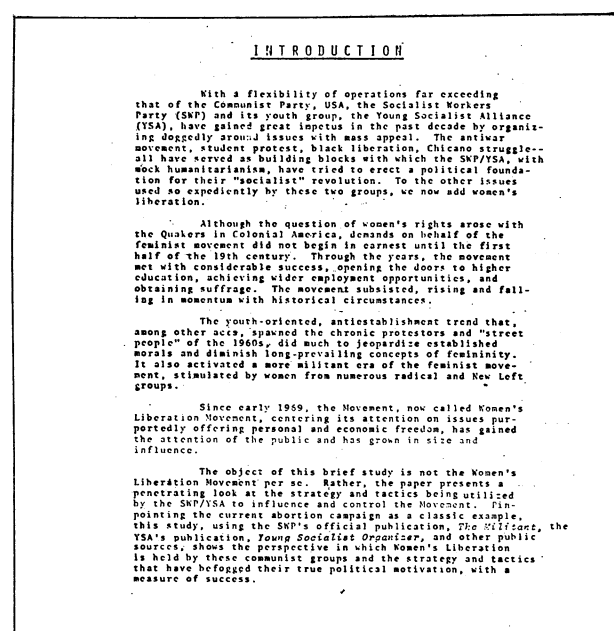
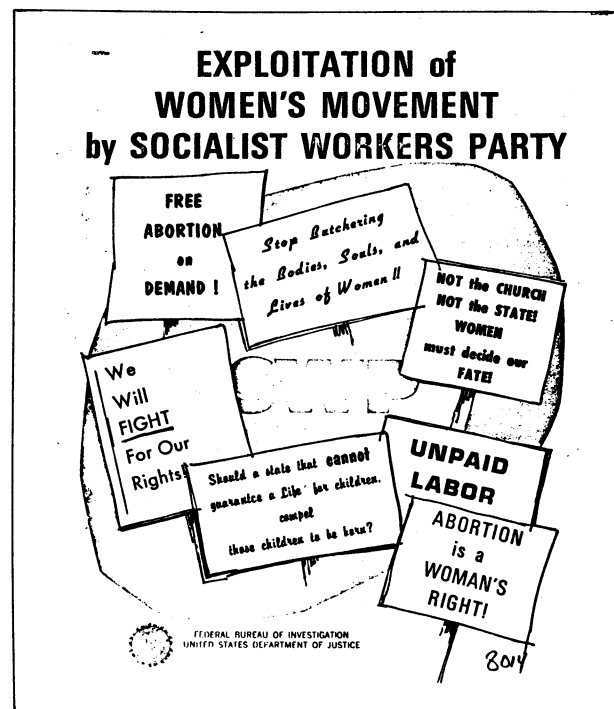
Many of us were active in the feminist movement before becoming socialists. We joined the SWP because it was the only party that saw the need to build the independent women's movement and at the same time to unite women, Blacks, and workers in a common struggle against our enemy, the capitalist system.

And the FBI? The American people have learned through Watergate just how "humanitarian" this outfit of gangsters, burglars, and hit men is. Their "strategy and tactics" have been to incite violence against antiwar demonstrators, to infiltrate student groups, to hound socialists out of their jobs, and to shoot down in cold blood fighters for Black liberation.

Now these "humanitarians" have the nerve to write about the "exploitation" of the women's movement by socialists!

To cover their tracks, the FBI uses a tone in its document to sound conciliatory toward women.

# How FBI red-baited women's movement



Front cover and two sample pages from FBI's secret 1972 document. Claiming to be 'friend' of women, government used this slander sheet in attempt to destroy struggle to legalize abortion.

"Numerous sincere and legitimate groups make up the movement called Women's Liberation," they state. Their purpose is apparently to protect these "innocents" from the menace of socialism.

### FBI's true face

But the FBI is certainly the last place feminists would turn to for protection! These government thugs are notorious for their sexist, racist prejudices. Their true attitudes were summed up by one of their own kind, Timothy Redfearn, who was recently exposed as an informer in the Denver YSA.

In one of Redfearn's regular reports to the FBI, he displayed his hatred for women and the women's movement. Describing a speech by a local feminist,

he wrote: "She talked about birth control, and the right to control her own body.

"Judging from the looks of her body, no one else would want to control it."

The FBI's attacks were part of the general anti-abortion offensive being waged at the time by the Catholic church hierarchy and the government. Richard Nixon took a personal lead in this fight, preaching about the "sanctity of life" for fetuses while he poured bombs on Vietnam.

The FBI's "Exploitation" document was apparently handed out to government officials, journalists, potential contributors to the women's movement, and sponsors of feminist events. The target of this slander sheet was of course far broader than the SWP and YSA. Its purpose was to discredit *all* fighters for legal abortion on the one hand, and on the other, to sow distrust within the movement and thus prevent women from uniting in a common struggle.

### Lessons from civil rights movement

Secret files on the FBI's "Cointelpro" operations reveal that red-baiting and other ways of dividing movements are standard FBI techniques.

In the civil rights movement, for example, J. Edgar Hoover gave personal orders to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings. . . ."

How was this to be done? "Where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations," the FBI chief ordered.

"Prevent the *coalition* of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength. . . ."

FBI documents on the SWP, disclosed through the socialists' lawsuit, show that the government routinely tried to create conflicts between the SWP and other political groups. In 1962, for example, it sent a phony letter to NAACP head Roy Wilkins, charging that the SWP was misusing funds in the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, a prominent civil rights case. The letter falsely charged that the committee was "set up, dominated, and controlled by the Socialist Workers Party."

During the abortion struggle, unfortunately, red-baiting was employed not only by the anti-abortion forces trying to destroy the movement from the outside, but also by some activists within the movement. Sharp debates occurred in the movement over the strategy of mass actions versus relying on Democrats to win abortion rights and over what demands the movement should focus on.

These were vital political questions that could only be resolved through open, democratic discussion by all those active in the movement. There were women who disagreed with the SWP's perspective of building a mass, independent campaign in the streets, focused against the government. Unfortunately, rather than discuss the differences openly, some of these women resorted to red-baiting charges against the socialists. SWP members were accused of "infiltrating" the movement, of "manipulating" struggles, and of "dominating" coalitions. Other women who shared the SWP's perspective in the abortion fight were accused of being "duped" by the socialists, as if these women had no independent thinking abilities of their own!

The feminists who made these charges had fallen into the government's trap. Their red-baiting—virtually identical to charges in the FBI's document—only obscured the real political questions at stake and divided the movement, to the advantage of women's enemies.

One of the clearest examples of how destructive this red-baiting became is a report submitted to the national board of NOW during the abortion struggle. It urged NOW to have nothing to do with activities also supported by the SWP. This was the "Confidential Report to the N.O.W. Governing Board on the Activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance," compiled by a NOW member named Lucy Komisar.

"The SWP/YSA conception is not one of joining women's groups on the same basis as other[s] do, but one of 'working in' those groups to 'radicalize' women, put forth their point of view and recruit them to the Party," stated the report.

Although this was a period of intense attacks by anti-abortion forces, those in the leadership of NOW decided at the time to hold the organization back from active involvement in the abortion rights movement and from supporting the activities of WONAAC in particular. The excuse offered for this abstention was "SWP domination" of WONAAC.

NOW went so far with this boycott policy as to schedule a national board meeting in a different city the same day as the first national march on Washington for abortion rights, November 20, 1971.

We will come to the full story of how red-baiting hurt the abortion fight in our next article.



# ...abortion rights: where they stand today

Continued from back page

unwanted children. But these laws didn't stop countless others from having abortions. The laws simply drove women to risk their health and lives at the hands of back-alley butchers.

Official statistics estimate that 300 women died each year from botched abortions during the 1960s. We have no way of knowing how many other abortion mortalities were merely reported as deaths due to "severe hemorrhaging" or "miscarriage."

We also don't know how many women before 1973 managed to obtain and survive illegal abortions. We do know, however, that in 1974, 900,000 women had legal abortions, an increase of 53 percent over legal abortions performed in 1972.

Black and Puerto Rican women especially benefited from the legalization of abortion. Before legal abortions were available in New York City, 80 percent of the women who died from illegal abortions were Black or Spanish-speaking. Now Black, Puerto Rican, and other nonwhite women receive 63 percent of the legal abortions in New York. Nationally, Black women account for about 30 percent of legal abortions.

Along with the dramatic increase in legal abortions, there has been a corresponding decrease in abortion mortalities. In 1974, forty-eight women died from abortions; five of them had had illegal operations.

Clearly any restrictions on legal, medically performed abortions would mean a return to agony and death for many, with minority women suffering the most.

## Unmet need

Even though abortions are now legal, existing services in no way meet the needs of the 1.3 to 1.8 million women seeking abortions each year. In 1975 as many as 770,000 women couldn't get abortions.

One reason for the unmet need is hospital policies.

In a study on abortion needs and services in the year after the Supreme Court ruling, the Allen Guttmacher Institute concluded that the response of hospitals to the ruling was "so limited as to be tantamount to no response at all."

The study found that only 15 percent of public hospitals and 29 percent of non-Catholic voluntary and private hospitals were performing abortions. Those doing so were mostly clustered in cities in a few states. In 1974, not a single woman was able to get an abortion in Louisiana or North Dakota. If you lived in Mississippi, West Virginia, or several other states, your chances weren't much better.

Special abortion clinics have sprung up to fill the void. But many of these profit-making outfits demand dollars in advance—more than most women can afford.

Even without the Hyde amendment, money is a huge barrier to poor women exercising their right to abortion. Statistics available for 1973 indicate that Medicaid supplied funds for as little as one-third of the low-income women needing abortions.

## Legal restrictions

Federal and state laws have bolstered restrictive hospital policies and added a host of other measures to hamstringing the Supreme Court ruling.

The most widely publicized attempt to topple the ruling is a proposed constitutional amendment outlawing all abortions by guaranteeing fetuses constitutional protection from the moment of conception. Last spring, the Senate rejected this reactionary amendment by a slim vote of forty-seven to forty.

But Congress has quietly slipped through other anti-abortion measures. These include:



Black women fought to legalize abortions and have benefited most from 1973 victory

- A prohibition on the use of federal funds by legal services lawyers for any matter connected to abortions;

- A ban on foreign assistance funds used to teach foreign medical personnel abortion procedures; and

- An exemption allowing any doctor or nurse to refuse to perform abortions on "moral" grounds. It also exempts federally funded religious hospitals.

States have also adopted anti-abortion measures, including laws that:

- Require parental consent to abortions for unmarried women under eighteen;

- Require a husband's consent;
- Restrict who may perform an abortion and the facilities and techniques to be used;

- Prohibit advertising or publishing information advocating abortion;

- Require the doctor to do everything possible to sustain life in an aborted fetus;

- Deny women custody if an abortion results in a live birth; and

- Curb the use of state money for abortions.

In addition, the courts have harassed doctors for performing abortions. Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician in Boston, was convicted of "manslaughter" for performing a legal abortion in 1973. This was an attempt to intimidate doctors—and women seeking abortions—by branding them as murderers.

## Some victories

Last summer the Supreme Court overturned some of these restrictive laws. These rulings, on a Missouri anti-abortion law, marked an important victory for a woman's right to choose.

The court voided laws requiring a husband's consent.

It overturned laws with blanket prohibitions on abortions for minors without parental consent. However, the court didn't rule out all restrictions for young women.

The justices also knocked down restrictions in the Missouri law prohibiting saline abortions. This law, in effect, had denied most abortions after the twelfth week of pregnancy. In addition, the court said a doctor is not required to sustain the life of an aborted fetus.

The Supreme Court will soon hear three cases dealing with state efforts to deny Medicaid funds for abortions. It may also hear the case on the Hyde amendment.

## Anti-abortion movement

No one can predict how the court will rule in these important cases. But one thing is for sure—the reactionary anti-

abortion forces are ready for a fight.

Even though this movement is a minority, it is remarkably well organized and well financed, and it has plenty of friends in high places. President-elect Jimmy Carter is among those who oppose women's right to abortion. For starters, he calls for ending state and federal funds for abortions. The Hyde amendment shows that Congress has also jumped on this bandwagon.

The Catholic church hierarchy has not disclosed how many millions it has poured into its crusade against women. But we do know that during 1973, it spent \$400,000 alone on lobbying in Washington, D.C.

More important than its money, the Catholic hierarchy has persistently mobilized anti-abortion actions.

To help coordinate this campaign, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a battle plan last November to organize committees in

every congressional district. On January 22, 1976—the third anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling—18,000 anti-abortion demonstrators filled the streets of Washington, D.C. Last June in Boston anti-abortion forces gathered for a national conference of 3,000.

Picket lines are stationed regularly at clinics in Milwaukee, Cleveland, Newark, and other cities. Placards reading "Abortion is Murder" dogged Jimmy Carter along his campaign trail. October 3 was "Respect Life Sunday" in churches across the country, where priests sermonized for active support for the fight against abortion.

This barrage of activities has had its impact on the hospital policies, laws, and court rulings now restricting abortions.

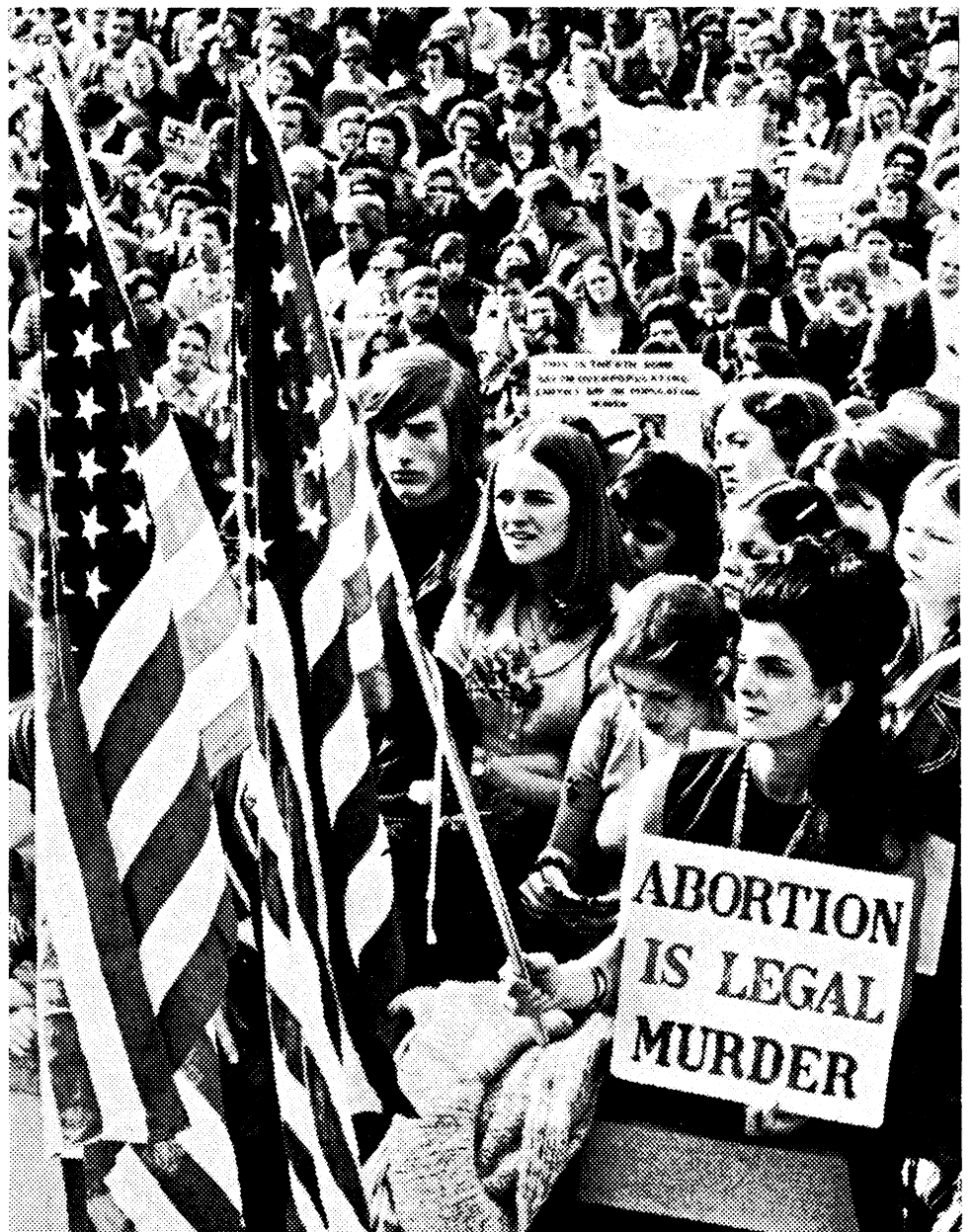
Meanwhile, the pro-abortion rights movement has been less active. As Ellen Leitzer of the American Civil Liberties Union put it, "We're losing in the legislatures and Congress because of the poisoned political atmosphere. The anti-abortionists have the upper hand because everyone—including the feminists—think that if abortion's legal, they can relax."

If it was not evident before, the Hyde amendment makes it frighteningly plain: our right to legal abortion is in danger. The women's movement and its allies cannot relax.

Our side can have an even more powerful impact on the courts, legislatures, and Congress than anti-abortion forces, because we are the majority. Support for abortion rights has grown to 81 percent, according to a Knight-Ridder newspaper survey taken this year.

But this majority cannot afford to stand on the sidelines. If the Hyde amendment is upheld, it will wipe out the right to legal abortion for hundreds of thousands of women. In doing this, it can open the flood gates to sweeping away abortion rights for all women.

We must build a human dam against this. We need to alert women, and all other supporters of women's rights to the seriousness of these attacks. And we must begin to organize a powerful counteroffensive to turn back the anti-abortion tide.



Repeated anti-abortion demonstrations influence politicians and judges

# ROSENBERGS

## Why is Washington so afraid to open its files after 25 years?

By May Cramer

The government has tried to bury the history of its murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg along with the victims. But the fight to make records of that case public and prove the Rosenbergs' innocence is continuing.

In 1951 Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, along with Morton Sobell, were convicted of giving the "secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union. In reality, the Rosenbergs and Sobell were victims of the 1950s witch-hunt, on trial for their political beliefs.

When the Rosenbergs were put on death row, millions of people around the world rallied to their defense. Even the pope appealed to President Eisenhower for mercy for the Rosenbergs.

But Washington went ahead with its murder plans. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed June 19, 1953. The government tried to pressure the couple into a phony last-hour confession. But the Rosenbergs died declaring their innocence.

There were good reasons to believe them. The evidence used to frame the Rosenbergs and Sobell was flimsy.

For example, the government claimed the Rosenbergs

had a special console table from the Soviet Union for photographing microfilmed notes. But when the table was found years later, it turned out to be an ordinary twenty-one-dollar table from Macy's department store.

In 1975 Michael and Robert Meeropol, the Rosenbergs'



ETHEL ROSENBERG

sions, filed suit to get all the files from the case through the Freedom of Information Act.

In response, the government released a small part of the record. The Meeropols' lawyers estimate that the 29,000 pages of files made public are only 6 percent of the material.

### What files show

Yet even this small glimpse into the real record points to a frame-up. The files document:

**Coached witness:** The government had to help its star witness, David Greenglass, get his story straight. At the trial, Greenglass—Ethel Rosenberg's brother—swore that she had typed up espionage reports.

Or, as a government prosecutor put it, Ethel Rosenberg had "struck the keys, blow by blow, against her own coun-

try in the interests of the Soviets."

But before the trial, Greenglass told the government lawyers a different story. A transcript of Greenglass's interview with the prosecutors reads this way:

**"Government:** Was Ethel present in any of these occasions [when atomic bomb secrets were supposedly discussed]?"

**"Greenglass:** Never.

**"Government:** Did Ethel talk to you about it?"

**"Greenglass:** Never spoke about it to me, and that's a fact. Aside from trying to protect my sister, believe me, that's a fact."

**Informers:** The FBI used Jerome Tartakow, a prisoner Julius Rosenberg met at the New York House of Detention, as a spy. When Tartakow was released from prison he offered to help the Rosenbergs. For example, he drove Emanuel Bloch, the Rosenbergs' lawyer, to the prison for meetings. Tartakow then reported on Bloch's conversations with the Rosenbergs.

Had this interference with a client-attorney relationship been known at the time, it could have overturned the

Rosenbergs' conviction.

**Biased judge:** Irving Kaufman was the judge in the 1951 trial. FBI files show he held secret meetings with prosecution lawyers, decided to impose the death sentence before the trial was concluded, and "raised hell" with another judge who heard an appeal of the case.

It is no wonder that since the files came to light, 102 law professors and attorneys have demanded a probe into Kaufman's misconduct. A petition initiated by Dr. Vern Countryman of the Harvard Law School demands that the House and Senate judiciary committees investigate Kaufman's record.

**Thought-control campaign:** The files show that Kaufman also conspired with ex-FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover to suppress all criticism of the Rosenberg trial.

In 1965 writers Walter and Miriam Schnier challenged the verdict in their book *Invitation to an Inquest*. An FBI memo went out ordering agents to have the book "smothered and forced out of the public eye."

### Fighting the truth

The Meeropols' case has shown, above all, how frightened the government is of releasing the truth about the Rosenbergs.

When the government made the 29,000 pages of files public, they tried to charge the Meeropols \$20,000. Only the public outcry prevented the government from collecting this ransom.

Moreover, the released files are heavily censored. About 60 to 70 percent of the material is deleted.

The government has used all kinds of excuses to avoid releasing more files: national security, the need to protect informers, privacy.

U.S. District Court Judge

June Green has ordered the FBI to search the files of its fifty-nine field offices for records of the Rosenberg case. The G-men are refusing, however, to look for files of the 100 government witnesses at the 1951 trial.

### Accomplishments

Even though full release of the Rosenberg files has not yet been achieved, the case has won important victories.

First, the lawsuit and public attention have prevented the government from destroying the records of the Rosenberg case.

The U.S. attorney's office in New Mexico had already destroyed its file on David Greenglass when the lawsuit began. One of the first decisions the Meeropols won was a court injunction ordering



MORTON SOBELL

the government not to shred, pulp, alter, or dispose of any of the files.

Another victory was Morton Sobell's release from parole restrictions last June. Sobell served nineteen years of a thirty-year sentence and was to be on parole until 1981. But two weeks after the FBI files about Judge Kaufman were made public, Sobell was suddenly given full freedom.

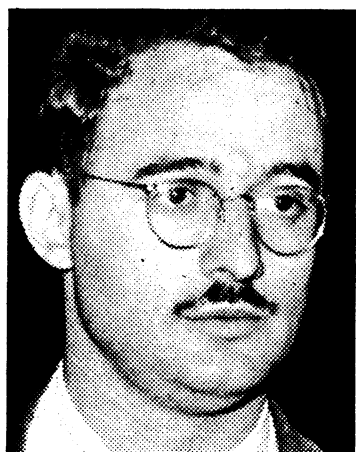
Most important, of course, has been the spotlight thrown on government crimes.

The Rosenberg trial, the execution, and the twenty-five-year cover-up that followed have not been a vendetta against just Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Rather, it is an example of how far the government will go to intimidate all political activists and hide its secret dealings from the public.

The fight to make all the files public, being coordinated by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, is important to everyone fighting government secrecy and attacks on democratic rights.



Paris rally, part of international protest to save Rosenbergs



JULIUS ROSENBERG

## Iranians condemn violence in movement

By Peter Seidman

Five supporters of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran were physically attacked November 1 at the University of Houston.

The five were eating in the cafeteria when they were surrounded by twelve to fifteen people screaming insults and physical threats. On the advice of campus security, the CAIFI supporters went to a hallway outside the cafeteria to wait for help. It was there that they were assaulted by the thugs who had surrounded them.

Among those attacked was Bahram Atai, national CAIFI field secretary. Atai was helping CAIFI's local affiliate with preparations for a March 1977 meeting to protest political repression in Iran.

The students were planning to invite

Daniel Ellsberg; Reza Baraheni, the noted Iranian poet and exile; and others to their campus for the meeting.

CAIFI activists say their attackers were Iranian. They recognized some of them as members of the Iranian Student Association, Iran House faction.

While no one was seriously hurt in the attack, CAIFI views this incident as particularly alarming in light of recent revelations of activities in the United States by SAVAK, the shah's secret police. The use of violence to settle disputes within the Iranian student movement can only help SAVAK do its dirty work of disrupting and dividing the movement.

The shah told CBS News interviewer Mike Wallace on October 12 that his secret agents regularly carry out politi-

cal surveillance in the United States.

On October 29, nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson reported that "most of SAVAK's dirty tricks are directed against Iranian students who oppose the shah's imperial rule."

On October 26, Anderson wrote that he has "documentary evidence that SAVAK agents also commit burglaries, forgeries and other crimes in behalf of the shah."

The columnist cited a report from University of Pittsburgh Prof. Richard Cottam based on a "trusted State Department source" that "Iranian hit squads are on their way to the United States." Cottam says that CAIFI's honorary chairperson, Reza Baraheni, is a likely target of these squads.

Anderson said, "The guess within the government is that any executions

will be disguised as muggings. The obvious targets would be Iranian dissidents."

CAIFI is circulating a petition demanding that the university ensure protection for its Houston supporters and that it cooperate with plans for their projected meeting. Mohammad Falsafi, a CAIFI spokesperson, says that his group will press charges against the attackers.

CAIFI, Falsafi said, opposes violence and believes that whatever political disagreements may exist among Iranian students, everyone should unite in defense of political prisoners. "This is the best way," he explained, "to counter the shah's terror at home and dirty tricks designed to discredit and divide his opponents abroad."



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

NOVEMBER 19, 1976

## British economic impasse: why the pound is falling

By William Gottlieb

The dramatic fall of the pound, which reached an all-time low of US\$1.57 on October 28 before rallying somewhat the following day, indicates that the long drawn-out sickness of British capitalism is reaching the point of acute crisis.

Danger signals include unemployment, which according to official figures has reached 1.3 million; inflation, now again approaching 14%; an expected decline of real wages of 10% over the next year, and a level of industrial production below the early

1974 level and stagnant.

On top of this, interest rates have reached astronomical levels. The Bank of England is lending money at a record rate of 15%. Large firms are paying a 14.5% rate of interest for short-term loans. Government bonds have a yield of 16%.

Various theories have been advanced on how Britain got itself into this impasse. Eric Heffer, a prominent leader of the left wing of the Labour party, sees a massive political plot. He is quoted in the October 26 issue of the *New York Times* as follows: "Many of us are now convinced there is a conspiracy on the other side of the house and by certain press barons trying to force this Government out." If Heffer is right, Watergate would be small potatoes indeed.

In reality, the cause is to be found in the intersection of two historical trends, the general decline of the world capitalist economy as a whole and the relative decline of Great Britain within it.

The roots of this relative decline are to be found in the last century when Britannia ruled not only the waves but the world of capital. Its industry could produce commodities with less human labor—that is, cheaper—than any of its rivals.

As a result, Britain enjoyed a monopoly of world markets. But monopoly breeds decay. British industrialists, sure of their markets and profits, preferred to do things as they had always done them. Gradually Britain began to lag behind its most dynamic rivals, first the United States and Germany, and later Japan as well.



JOBLESS LINE UP IN BRITAIN: Government austerity measures aimed at saving pound risk head-on clash with working class.

Two costly imperialist world wars accelerated this process.

For a time after World War II this process was cushioned by the general expansion of the world capitalist economy. But even during these prosperity years, ominous warning signals of approaching crisis were felt.

Growth was slow, recessions frequent, and recurrent balance-of-payments crises ever more threatening. Worst of all, Britain continued to lag behind in the growth of labor productivity. For example, between 1955 and 60 Britain's output per hour of labor grew at an annual rate of only 2.3%, compared with 3.6% for France and 5.9% for Germany.

This trend continued in the 1960s. In 1965 British labor productivity was at an index of only 115 (1960=100) compared with 125 for France, 129 for West Germany and 147 for Japan.

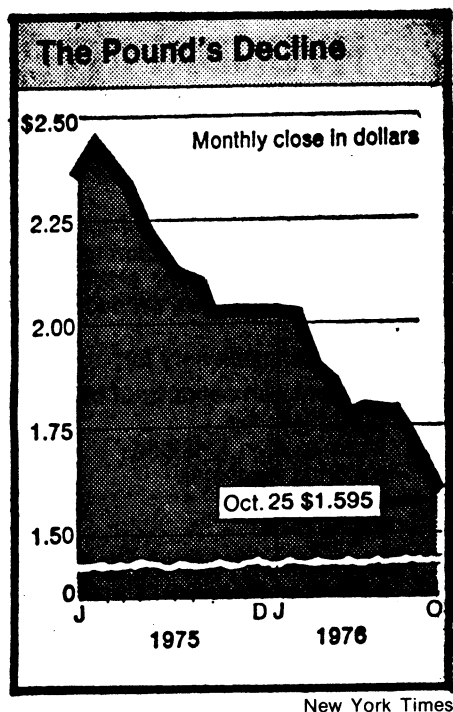
The 1970s reveal the same trend. While Britain's growth in productivity

between 1970 and 1975 averaged 3.1% per year, it increased at a rate of 3.4% a year in France, and 5.4% a year in Germany and Japan.

And things apparently are not getting better. According to a report in the October 16-22 London *Economist*, Britain's manufacturing investment from April to June of this year was only one-third its 1970 peak. Since growth of labor productivity depends largely on continued investment, this figure indicates that British productivity is lagging behind at an accelerating rate.

The British capitalist economy can be compared to a high-cost firm which has been falling behind the competition for many years. As long as business remains brisk it can manage to hang on, but once business turns sour and competition intensifies the high-cost firm finds itself in an increasingly untenable position.

As the long-term boom of postwar  
*Continued on next page*



## Racist attacks on nonwhites increase in Britain

By Jo O'Brien

LONDON—There has been an increase in racist attacks on immigrants and Black people in Britain in recent weeks. One such attack resulted in the death of Mohan Devi Gautam, a seventy-six-year-old Asian woman who was found by her grandson lying on the floor of her living room.

Gautam was suffering from burns over 77 percent of her body and died after sixteen hours in a hospital. Before she died, however, she gave the police a sworn statement describing how two white youths in masks and gloves had entered her home. They collected newspapers, bundled her into a garden shed, and set fire to the newspapers which they had placed around her.

It was clearly a racial attack, since the youths left money and jewelry untouched. Nevertheless, the police have refused to admit the racial nature of this and other attacks.

The immigrant community in Leamington, where Gautam lived, has suffered other attacks in recent weeks. One Asian was standing outside his home when a car stopped and a group of white men piled out and beat him up. Bricks wrapped in leaflets put out by the racist National Front have been thrown through the windows of four

shops owned by Asians.

The National Front demands the expulsion of the immigrant population from Britain, and on October 4 the same demand was raised by Enoch Powell, the leading racist in Parliament. In a speech before the Monday Club, an organization of right-wing Tories, Powell threatened that massive violence would break out if nonwhite immigrants were not sent back to their countries of origin.

While figures like Powell openly encourage the racist thugs in the streets, more "respectable" leaders are



Black youth injured by racist police riot in Notting Hill last August.

also urging action against the immigrant community in Britain. William Whitelaw, the deputy leader of the Conservative party, recently demanded that the Labour government provide figures on the number of immigrants entitled to come to Britain, establish a register of the dependents of immigrants, and reduce the number of immigrants allowed into the country by about 8,000 a year.

Meanwhile, the National Front has declared that it will field 318 candidates in the next general election. During local council elections this May the National Front put forward 176 candidates in wards with large immigrant populations. In addition to making physical attacks on Black people, the Front publicizes its racist program by producing leaflets such as one they distributed in Bolton, warning that "British people will be replaced as owners of the British Isles by half-caste mongrels."

In July the House of Lords made its contribution to the attack on immigrants, ruling that they could no longer appeal for an extension of their stay in the country if their visas had already expired. This means that thousands of immigrants are now liable to imprisonment, fines, and deportation.

The growth of an atmosphere of

white racist violence became most clear with the massive police attack on Black youths at the Notting Hill Carnival in London at the end of August. A force of 1,500 police went on a rampage that broke up the festival and led to numerous injuries.

The immigrant population has responded to the attacks on it by forming self-defence groups and demonstrating for its rights. On September 11, 5,000 persons attended an antiracist demonstration in Blackburn, in the north of England, that was held in opposition to a National Front demonstration. Among the participants in this action were the International Marxist Group (the British section of the Fourth International), the Labour party Young Socialists, and the International Socialists. Contingents also came from the Indian Workers Association, the National Union of Public Employees, the Merseyside Dock Labourers, and the Ford plant in Halewood.

The growing confrontation between the immigrant population and its racist opponents shows no sign of decline. As the economic crisis in Britain deepens, the immigrant and Black communities more and more find that they are the scapegoats for the problems of capitalism. This is a question that has begun to take on a central political significance.



## CP leader at rally with Plyushch and Pelikan

# French CP scores Kremlin's treatment of dissidents

By Gerry Foley

The French Communist party has been sharply rebuked by the Kremlin for participating in a rally in Paris October 21 in defense of six victims of political repression, including two in the USSR and another in Czechoslovakia.

The meeting made a considerable impact in France, and a crowd of thousands packed Paris's La Mutualité to overflowing to hear the French CP representative speak alongside an exiled Soviet dissident and a former member of the deposed Dubcek leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist party.

In an October 23 statement, the Soviet news agency TASS denounced the meeting as "a provocative attempt to mix up real fighters for freedom and social progress imprisoned in fascist jails with spiteful anti-Soviet fighters fighting against the socialist system."

The statement concluded: "Soviet public opinion does not understand how representatives of the French Communist party could participate in such a dirty project." The "Soviet public opinion" referred to could only be the reaction of the Kremlin tops. The TASS statement itself was not published in the Soviet press, nor still less any account of the meeting and what the representative of the French CP said.

The Kremlin's statement denounced the organizers of the rally as "well-known for their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist views." In reality, the meeting was sponsored by the International Committee of Mathematicians, which played the leading role in building a worldwide campaign to win the release of Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian antibureaucratic fighter imprisoned in a "psychiatric hospital" in the Soviet Union.

The fact that the mathematicians committee was able to get the French CP to make a public protest against the victimization of Plyushch was an important factor in forcing his release in January. At the October 21 meeting, Pierre Juquin, who spoke for the French CP, greeted Plyushch, who also spoke there, in a very friendly way.

The meeting focused on defending Vladimir Bukovsky, who is now spending his thirteenth year in a Soviet prison camp for denouncing the imprisonment of political dissidents in "psychiatric hospitals"; Semyon Gluz-

man, a psychiatrist jailed for exposing the "diagnosis" on the basis of which dissident leader Pyotr Grigorenko was locked up in a "hospital"; J. Müller, a leader of the Prague student movement, now serving the fourth year of a six-year sentence; José-Louis Massera, a noted mathematician and member of the Uruguayan CP imprisoned by the military regime; Miguel Enriquez, leader of the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), who has disappeared in Argentina, where he was in exile; and López Arias, an imprisoned Bolivian mine-workers leader.

Jiri Pelikan, an exiled member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party under Dubcek, spoke on the Müller case.

Plyushch, for whom a similar rally had been organized a year ago, was strongly applauded when he spoke, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported in its October 24 issue. He denounced the repressive regime in the USSR and urged support for the case of the Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhe-milev, imprisoned for demanding the right of his people to return to their historic homeland, from which they were expelled by Stalin.

A representative of Amnesty International spoke on behalf of the three Latin American victims of repression.

An appeal on behalf of the Polish workers jailed for taking part in the strikes and demonstrations against food-price hikes in late June was read from the platform. It was signed by Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, prominent opponents of the Stalinist regime in Poland. Kuron was imprisoned for three years in the mid-1960s for coauthoring a Marxist critique of the bureaucratic system in his country.

The French CP representative, Juquin, seemed mainly interested in gaining cover for his party against the attacks of Social Democrats exploiting the issue of bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR.

As the possibility approaches of an electoral victory by the bloc of the CP, the SP, and bourgeois liberals, the French Stalinists are more and more anxious to establish "democratic" credentials. In particular, they need to do so in order to meet the competition of the SP, which has attracted wide support from sections of the population moving to the left but repelled by the



Rouge  
CP representative Pierre Juquin (left) greets former Soviet political prisoner Leonid Plyushch at October 21 Paris rally.

French CP's identification with Stalinist dictatorship in Eastern Europe.

The Kremlin bureaucracy recognizes the French CP's political needs and is prepared to accept gestures of "independence," if they pay off at the polls. This is shown by Brezhnev's praise of the Italian CP at the conference of European CPs in late June in East Berlin. However, the Kremlin's response to the French CP's taking part in the October 21 meeting in Paris indicates that it can find the price for improving the image of the West European CPs an extremely painful one to pay.

The French CP publicly rejected

Moscow's protests. In the October 23 issue of its daily newspaper *l'Humanité*, it said: "The French CP's participation in the Mutualité meeting testifies to its determination to act in defense of freedoms. From its standpoint, freedom and socialism are inseparable.

"Criticizing those aspects of Soviet reality that require it is not anti-Sovietism. We pointed this out clearly at our Twenty-Second Congress."

Furthermore, the French CP announced that it was going to print six million copies of Juquin's speech at the October 21 rally to publicize "the Communists' fight for democratic freedom."

## Paris rally won wide backing

The rally in the Paris Mutualité organized by the mathematicians committee was supported by the following organizations: Amnesty International; International Committee Against Repression; League for Human Rights; French Democratic Confederation of Labor; Force Ouvrière, a conservative French labor organization; National Education Federation; Committee for a Union of French Students; Union Action Movement; National Union of Students of France; Trade Union Unity faction; Committee Against the Special Psychiatric Hospitals in the USSR; January 5 Committee for a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia; Young Friends of the Ukraine;

International Movement of Catholic Jurists; the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; and others.

A large number of prominent individuals also sponsored the meeting. They included Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Noam Chomsky, Alfred Kastler, Arthur London, Charles Tillon (veteran of the sailors' revolt in the French fleet sent to the Black Sea to support the forces fighting the Red Army in the Russian civil war), Jean-Marie Domenach, Daniel Mayer, Paul Ricoeur, Jean Daniel, and Vercors.

The rally was chaired by Laurent Schwartz, a Nobel-Prize-winning scientist.

## ...Britain

**Continued from preceding page**  
capitalism began to slow down in the late 1960s and international competition increased, it became harder and harder to finance Britain's traditional trade deficit. As the markets of the world became increasingly saturated, each country began to look more aggressively for new markets abroad. Britain found itself being flooded with a mass of more cheaply produced foreign commodities.

Faced with this worsening situation, the British bourgeoisie sought a cure by devaluing the pound. A lower value of the pound would mean lower export prices in terms of foreign currencies, and higher import prices in terms of the pound. Britain's balance-of-payments deficit would thereby be corrected.

However in the final analysis it is not the rate of exchange of the currency that determines international competitiveness, but the comparative levels of labor productivity.

As the pound was devalued, British capitalists tended to raise prices in terms of those devalued pounds and thereby increasingly offset the benefits of devaluation. These price rises were a response both to the higher cost of imported materials and to growing deficit expenditures by the government, especially for arms. The resulting inflation occurred despite the existence of industrial stagnation and mass unemployment.

Of course, the bourgeoisie and their lieutenants in the labor movement have tried to blame this inflation on the workers. The cry from these quarters is that wages are too high, social benefits are too liberal, the workers must sacrifice. This logic has led both Wilson and Callaghan to do everything in their power to hold down wages, whether under the guise of an

"incomes policy" or the current "social contract."

But British wages are not high relative to Britain's competitors. For example they are only about half those of West Germany. The fact is that the British workers have been sacrificing, but these sacrifices have not prevented the situation from growing worse. Actually the British workers desperately need a massive across-the-board wage increase to protect themselves from the effects of the worsened inflation the latest decline of the pound is sure to unleash.

The fate of the pound has produced a worldwide wave of concern in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. To allow the pound to continue to fall could not only mean a massive social crisis in Great Britain. It would also involve other currencies and perhaps lead to a chain-reaction world financial crisis.

For this reason world bankers have lent huge sums to Britain. On September 29, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced that

Britain was applying for a new loan from the International Monetary Fund that would total \$3.9 billion. This would boost Britain's foreign borrowing to \$24 billion.

But the bankers, after all, want some assurance that the money will be paid back. They are demanding that the British government slash social services, hold down wages, and restrict the domestic money supply. These measures are designed to reduce domestic demand and lower the standard of living, with the aim of forcing British firms to export and thereby raise enough money to pay back the loans.

Of course, the economic stagnation that these measures would reinforce would further depress investment, and the root cause of Britain's difficulties would be increased. But at this point the world bourgeoisie is less and less interested in root causes. It is forced to concentrate on saving the immediate situation, even at the risk of precipitating a head-on clash with the working class of Britain.

# Mexico: peso devaluation slashes buying power

[The following article appeared in the September 20-October 1 issue of *Clave*, a fortnightly newspaper reflecting the point of view of the Bolshevik Leninist Faction of the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The flimsy barrier of economic controls and measures the government erected to prevent a monetary catastrophe has broken. On August 31, one day before the traditional annual report by the president of the republic, it was announced that the Mexican peso would be allowed to "float." On September 1, the press reported that the peso had fallen to less than half its former exchange rate measured against the dollar.

The official explanation for taking this step has very little to do with reality. For example, Finance Minister Mario Ramón Beteta, in his official announcement of the float, said that this step was absolutely normal, that more than fifty countries were exercising "controlled floats." President Luis Echeverría explained in his annual report to Congress that the step would benefit the country because it would attract tourism and foreign investment.

Explanations like these tend to hide what is behind the move, that is, the existence of a grave economic situation in the country.

A rise in prices unlike any seen in decades followed the "float" of the peso. Entire chains of big department stores were closed, supposedly to prevent unjustified price hikes. What actually was involved was a step taken to prevent a spell of panic buying by the public, and to assure that when these stores opened their doors again, the prices of the merchandise would have been changed.

Although no official statistics are available yet, the daily papers announced that the rise in prices in the Federal District fluctuated between 60 and 100 percent. For those who live from their labor, the devaluation means that the pay they bring home has been markedly reduced.

The devaluation is simply a reflection of the grave economic situation. According to the August 8 issue of *Excelsior*, the president of the Asociación Nacional de Consultores en Mercadotecnia [National Association of Marketing Consultants] said that 47 percent of Mexican industry was "idle." This means that industry is producing at 53 percent of its capacity; it is a sign of the stagnation affecting the economy.

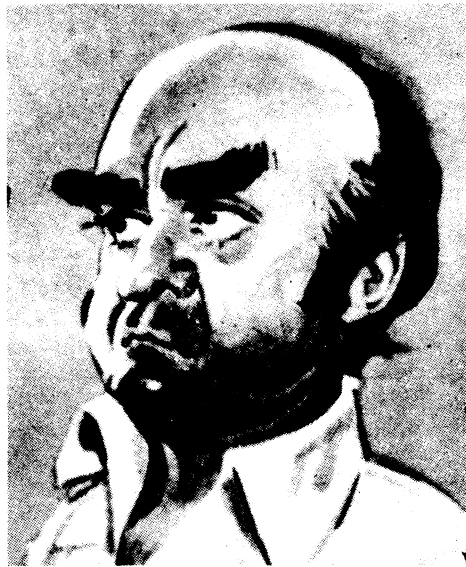
Another sign of the stagnation is the unemployment and "underemployment" affecting 40 percent of the economically active population. The economist Luis R. Casillas, whose conservatism is shown by the fact that he won the economics prize of the Banco Nacional de México [National Bank of Mexico] in 1975, estimated—in statements that appeared in the August 24 issue of *Excelsior*—that by the end of 1976 there would be 2.5 million unemployed in Mexico. Casillas did not mention the number of "underemployed" who survive without jobs and earn their living in many different ways. But he did mention what he called the "external strangulation" of the economy, that is, that the pace of [foreign] investment in Mexico has dropped substantially.

This situation of stagnation is

crowned by the country's huge foreign debt. Along with Brazil, Mexico has the honor of occupying first place among those indebted to North American private banking interests. According to Henry Reuss, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Mexican government owes North American private banking interests a cool \$5.5 billion (approximately 112 billion pesos according to the current exchange rate).

There is not enough money in the budget to repay this sum. To pay its debt, the only recourse the government has is to inflate the money supply by printing currency not backed by reserves and by issuing bonds without funds. Inflation, which in previous years rose to more than 20 percent, has leveled off at around 15 percent in 1976.

But it is not only the government that is responsible for our currency being in such a precarious state. The



Mexican president-elect José López Portillo

trade deficit has increased with the "stagflation" [simultaneous inflation and stagnation]. As a result of buying more from abroad—especially from the United States—than is exported, the trade deficit reached \$729 million in the first three months of 1976 alone. The ventures known as "private initiatives" are also in debt and the country has to suffer the consequences of it. Private banking, through loans and credits that are not backed up, has made its contribution to the inflation.

Neither the businessmen nor the government are willing to pay for the economic situation. Beteta, who speaks as if he were the spokesman for President-elect J. López Portillo, has said that the budget they are preparing for the coming six years will be an "austerity budget."

But the workers and the people who live from their labor are not responsible for the economic situation, and thus have no reason to pay for it.

An immediate wage increase of 60 percent and a sliding scale of wages and hours are the only measures that can protect their standard of living from the consequences of the devaluation.

Naturally, we can expect the bosses and the government to resist granting such measures. The course they have chosen runs contrary to granting progressive reforms that will lessen the blows delivered to the purchasing power of wages. But they do not have the final say on this. It is within the power of the workers to force these measures out of them.

## World news notes

### Irish Republican leader murdered

Twenty thousand people marched through the Catholic neighborhoods of Belfast November 1 in a funeral demonstration for Irish Republican leader Máire Drumm.

Drumm, a former vice-president of Provisional Sinn Féin, was shot to death October 28 by three terrorists as she lay in her bed in Belfast's Mater Hospital recovering from eye surgery. She was fifty-three years old. The hospital is located on the predominantly Protestant Crumlin Road.

Máire Drumm was well known as a fiery and moving republican speaker. She was a fervent believer in the republican tradition of personal sacrifice for national freedom. She was frequently imprisoned in the brutal Northern Irish jails for her outspoken support of a free and united Ireland and for her refusal to recognize the legal institutions established by the imperialists.

She defied the repressive forces almost alone in the years before the rise of the civil rights movement, when the oppressed Catholic community was intimidated and atomized. Her family shared her convictions, and her husband and children have also been imprisoned for their support of the republican cause.

### Repression in Paraguay

An inkling of what life is like in Paraguay under the despotic regime of President Alfredo Stroessner was given in a fifty-eight-page report issued in September by the International League for Human Rights.

The report, written by Professor Robert Alexander of Rutgers University and former U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia Ben Stephansky, described mass arrests and torture, ongoing repression of the country's Indians, the use of a twenty-two-year state of siege to make all civil liberties subject to the whim of the dictator, and the pervasiveness of corruption within the government.

Attached to the report was a list of about 200 of the regime's estimated 500-1,500 political prisoners.

The most recent wave of repression reached a peak in April and May of 1976, the report stated.

### Spanish adultery law

New attention has been focused on Spain's reactionary legal code by the case of María Inmaculada Benito, a twenty-two-year-old medical student who narrowly escaped a five-year prison term for adultery. She was acquitted October 9, thanks to the wide publicity won by her case in the Spanish press and the active support of women's groups. However, many other women are not as lucky. Many are convicted under the law, which is written in a way that makes it much more difficult to convict a man than a woman.

Divorce is illegal in Spain, but, Inmaculada asked, "How can I reconcile with a husband who has just tried to put me in jail for five years?"

### Portuguese regime arrests Carvalho

Maj. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho was arrested October 23 and ordered to serve twenty days in prison. A Portuguese military official said Carvalho had been arrested for "expressing political views at a public meeting."

Carvalho ran for president last June with the consent of the military hierarchy. Since then, however, he has been barred from political activity. His arrest, which provoked widespread protest, came after he had spoken at a rally called by the Movement for Popular Unity (a group formed by Carvalho's supporters after the presidential campaign).

"Putting Otelo in prison is like sending 800,000 Portuguese there too," said *Pagina*, a left-wing newspaper, in a front-page editorial that alluded to Carvalho's 16.5 percent of the vote in the presidential race.

### Mexican editor harassed

Julio Scherer García, the former editor of the Mexican daily *Excelsior*, told reporters October 25 that the government of President Luis Echeverría Álvarez is trying to block publication of a new political weekly under his editorship. Scherer was ousted from his post at *Excelsior* in July by right-wing members of the staff, who were backed by the government.

After the rightist takeover, the new editors of *Excelsior* charged Scherer with embezzling \$650,000. Scherer charged that a sudden interest by the government in his case was "undoubtedly of a political nature," and was aimed at "intimidating us and impeding the execution of our editorial project."

### Soviet Jews protest in Moscow

A week of actions by Soviet Jews in Moscow was ended October 25 when police arrested about thirty Jewish dissidents. The protests began with a sit-in at the reception offices of the Supreme Soviet, demanding an end to delays for those seeking visas to leave the USSR. On October 19, after a two-day sit-in, a dozen Jews charged that they had been taken to a forest outside Moscow and been beaten by plainclothes police.

Following the beating, which received widespread publicity in the international press, Gen. Nikolai A. Shchelokov, the Soviet minister of internal affairs, agreed to meet with a delegation from the protesters. However, Shchelokov refused to investigate the beating or to agree to say in writing how long the protesters would have to wait for their emigration visas.

In response, twenty-five Jews marched through Moscow wearing large yellow stars of David similar to those Jews were forced to wear under the Nazis. Meanwhile, sit-ins at the offices of the Communist party's Central Committee had also been initiated.



## Warnings not welcomed by Gandhi

# India's liberals fear upsurge protesting repression

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Since June 26, 1975, India has lived under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's "emergency." Normal bourgeois-democratic political processes have been suspended and all avenues for the ventilation of grievances have been closed, as has all access to accurate information about the country. The population is fed rosy news about the supposed benefits made possible by the declaration of emergency.

But the suspension of democratic rights has some inherent dangers for the bourgeoisie in India. Some shrewd capitalist politicians have begun to warn that if Gandhi's dictatorial regime is maintained for a prolonged period, the inevitable eruption of grievances among the masses may assume a violent and uncontrollable form.

This point was made in an editorial in the July 26 issue of *Seminar*, a liberal academic journal based in New Delhi. After detailing Gandhi's record of repression the editorial stated, "Censorship creates the official myth of political silence and acceptance. Who knows if the silence may not be a deliberate cover for turbulence?"

In the same issue of *Seminar*, Rajni Kothari, a well-known liberal political scientist, argued that the emergency has become a liability even for the rulers and called for its repeal.

Countering the regime's claims about the gains made under the emergency, Kothari pointed out that:

- Many of the changes promised by Gandhi under the emergency remain on paper.
- Those that have been implemented did not require the use of emergency powers, and frequently came about as a result of factors that had nothing to do with the regime's policies under the emergency.
- Many of the steps taken by the regime have involved repression and intimidation of the most vulnerable sectors of the population, which in turn has produced resentment and violence. This is the case with actions relating to compulsory sterilization and the forced eviction of the poor from the cities.

### Censored

Kothari argued that the price paid for rather limited gains was far too heavy, "namely, complete loss of personal freedoms, an atmosphere of fear and insecurity, ruthless use of police and para military forces and MISA [Maintenance of Internal Security Act] and DIR [Defence of India Rules] for the suppression of political opponents and the muzzling of not only the press but all forms of political expression and normal channels of articulation, including within the ruling party itself."

These warnings, however, were not appreciated by the regime, and soon after this issue *Seminar* was forced to cease publication under precensorship rules.

In an interview given in June, after the completion of one year of the emergency, Gandhi stated that opposition parties had been subdued but not vanquished, and insisted that the emergency would continue indefinitely since its gains were still to be consolidated.

In fact during her emergency rule Gandhi has routed all opposition parties that used to play a role in parliament, from the extreme right-wing Jan Sangh to reformist groups like the Socialist party. The ruling



Congress has become the main party of the Indian bourgeoisie and Gandhi its unrivaled leader.

### No alternative

For the moment, therefore, the emergency has imparted a certain stability to bourgeois rule in India and put an end to the centrifugal tendencies that were so evident during 1974 and 1975. Gandhi's success reflected the fact that the bourgeois opposition parties like Jan Sangh, BLD (Bharatiya Lok Dal), and Congress (O) (Organisation Congress) had no viable alternative for salvaging Indian capitalism. Their main aim was removal of Gandhi and her party from power, to be replaced by them. Developing mass movements were subordinated to this supreme goal.

As for the parties of the left such as the Communist party of India (CPI), the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], and the Revolutionary Socialist party, they were completely bogged down in the mire of parliamentary cretinism. They subordinated extraparlimentary struggles to the needs of their parliamentary maneuver-

ers. They never went beyond the framework of bourgeois opposition politics in the parliamentary system.

At the present time, these parties have become virtual nonentities. They cannot freely propagate their views, and even the speeches of their parliamentarians cannot be printed in the newspapers or reported in the mass media. Only the CPI, by completely subordinating itself to the regime, has been allowed some latitude to speak in its own name.

In the ruling Congress party itself, the effects of the dictatorial regime are felt. All are expected to eulogize Gandhi, and every rung of leadership has to hail the "dynamism" of Sanjay Gandhi, Indira Gandhi's son and her chosen heir.

### Rule by fear

The character of the regime was indicated when K. Brahmananda Reddy, Gandhi's union minister for home affairs, told parliament that "fear could be a potent motivating factor when all other means failed." This need to rule on the basis of fear led Reddy to call for an increase in

expenditures for his ministry from Rs. 3 crores [thirty million rupees, or about US\$3.42 million] to Rs. 160 crores [1.6 billion rupees, or about US\$182 million].

"We push in a lot of money to the states to assist them to modernise the police force," the home minister said on April 2. He pointed to the newly organized Central Reserve Police and the Border Security Force as examples of where the money is going.

According to a report on Reddy's plans in the April 5 *Times of India*, the 23,964-member Central Industrial Security Force will also be expanded. This industrial police force is currently being used against workers in eighty-two state-owned enterprises, and there is demand for its services in many others.

Even those bourgeois figures who have called for an end to Gandhi's emergency and have protested the supercentralization and growing arbitrariness of the government are agreed on the need to keep the workers in check.

Kothari, for example, does not plead for a return to the bourgeois-democratic regime that prevailed in India prior to June 26, 1975. He opposes strikes, bandhs (general strikes), and demonstrations, calling them the "culture of confrontation." He says they should be replaced by a "culture of consensus"—a scheme for arbitration of disputed issues.

### Indian Trotskyists

The Trotskyists of the Communist League of India (the Indian section of the Fourth International) have coupled the demand for repeal of the emergency with the demand for complete restoration of democratic rights, the release of all political prisoners, the removal of the ban on political parties, and the repeal of the repressive Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Defence of India Rules.

Gandhi, meanwhile, is in the process of pushing through a wide-ranging series of amendments to the constitution in order to institutionalize her dictatorial powers. She demagogically claims that the changes are necessary because the constitution is holding up her "war on poverty."

Both the CPI and the CPI(M) have published their views on the proposed changes, and both have failed to protest Gandhi's proposal to remove legal safeguards against arbitrary arrest, detention, and other police actions. Both speak in terms of abstract democracy, refusing to explain Gandhi's regime in class terms.

Finally, both have succumbed to Gandhi's ploy of making the judiciary—and judicial guarantees of democratic rights—the scapegoat for the inability of the bourgeois regime over the last twenty-seven years to ameliorate the conditions of the masses. It was left to former judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts, and other politicians of the right, to point out that there was nothing to prevent the regime from undertaking progressive measures if that had been its intention.

While pointing out the limitations of the current constitution, which was framed by a body that was a creature of British imperialism and that was not democratically elected, the Communist League has also stressed the antidemocratic nature of the proposed changes. It calls for the convening of a democratically elected constituent assembly that should discuss all proposals on the constitution.

## New amendments tighten Gandhi's grip

On November 2, the Indian Parliament passed a series of constitutional amendments that further tighten the grip of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's dictatorship.

By a vote of 366 to 4—with most opposition members boycotting and more than two dozen in prison—the lower house of the Gandhi-controlled parliament approved revisions in the constitution to:

- Permit the Parliament to amend the constitution as it sees fit and enact legislation banning "antinational" activities and associations.
- Remove the power of judicial review over ordinary laws from the lower courts and require India's Supreme Court to muster a two-thirds majority before it can declare a law unconstitutional.
- Subordinate previously guaranteed individual rights in the constitution to the so-called directive principles of government economic and social goals.
- Permit the prime minister—for the next two years—to order the

president to amend the constitution by executive order in any way that will further these "directive principles."

While these amendments must still be approved by a majority of state legislatures, the parliament's upper house, and India's figurehead president, these are not expected to present an obstacle to passage.

Gandhi's new powers were rubber stamped by the lower house only two days after she ordered the postponement for another year of national parliamentary elections. This October 30 edict was the second such delay this year.

The Gandhi regime has ruthlessly attacked democratic rights and repressed all opposition forces. Nonetheless, the prime minister justified her postponement of elections with the claim that the "forces of disruption and subversion" are "more dangerous" now than they were sixteen months ago, when the state of emergency began.



## Purge victims on 'capitalist road'?

# 'Guardian' lining up in China faction fight

By Les Evans

The New York Maoist weekly *Guardian*, after two weeks of evident indecision over the current purge in China, has stifled its qualms and is lining up behind the Chinese Communist party's new chairman, Hua Kuo-feng.

Managing Editor Jack Smith makes this clear in the third article of his continuing series on developments in China, which appears in the November 10 *Guardian*. Smith writes:

"Chairman Hua evidently decided to galvanize the middle forces and defeat the party left before China was turned upside down again without a Chairman Mao or Premier Chou to set things straight once more."

This speculation, of course, is completely at variance with what Hua Kuo-feng is telling the Chinese people. The official explanation for the purge of Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's widow, and three other top leaders of the CCP is that they "are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie in the party. Their coming to power would mean the coming to power of the bourgeoisie, of revisionists and fascists and would mean the restoration of capitalism in China" (Hsinhua, October 22, 1976).

The *Guardian's* version is intended to sound more plausible to American Maoists, who have been thrown into confusion by the arrest and vilification of four of Mao Tsetung's best-known followers and interpreters. Smith undoubtedly seeks his own rationalization for endorsing the victors in the Peking power struggle because few among the *Guardian's* readers are prepared to believe that the "gang of four" were "fascists" plotting the restoration of capitalism.

His version has some obvious defects. In trying to make the issues in the purge seem more reasonable—the party "middle forces" had to quiet down a disruptive "left wing"—he calls all the more attention to the undemocratic methods and the ferocity of the anti-Chiang Ch'ing campaign.

What are we to think of a "communist" leadership that arrests its opposition over a tactical disagreement, frames them up on false charges, and then carries on a campaign of character assassination, branding them as "maggots" (Hsinhua, October 25) and "dog-turds" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, November 5)?

In his previous articles, Smith had remained carefully neutral, declaring that "a frank exposition of the political differences between the party center and Chiang Ching et al has not been revealed." On the basis of what new facts does he now conclude that Hua represents the "middle forces" or Chiang Ch'ing the "left" or that the purge is justified to prevent the country from being "turned upside down"? Smith cites only one new piece of information:

### Political oblivion

"The 'gang of four'—the leftist leadership within the top ranks of the Communist Party—is swiftly on its way to political oblivion."

This, however, is hardly a cogent reason for taking sides in a political fight. Without waiting to find out what Mao's associates are supposed to have done or where the new leadership is going, Smith provides his readers with a "theoretical" explanation of why it is correct to support the winners.

Smith tries to use Mao's theory of the "continuing class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat" to reconstruct the events leading up to the latest leadership crisis. His effort is instructive for what it shows about this Maoist "theory."



SIGNS OF THE TIMES: Hua Kuo-feng seeks to foster his own personality cult while unleashing slanders against his factional opponents.

For years, the *Guardian* has denied that the internecine battles in the Maoist hierarchy are purges or even the result of tactical disputes over government policy. It has accepted Peking's word that these battles are great "class struggles" between the "proletariat" and the "bourgeoisie," in which the stakes were nothing less than a choice between socialism and the restoration of capitalism.

### 'Capitalist-roaders'?

Not the smallest fly in this ointment is the fact that the group that comes out on top *always* describes itself as the proletarian "left wing" and *invariably* brands its defeated opponents in the party hierarchy as "capitalist-roaders." As Smith's reconstruction inadvertently shows, these labels are shifted around from person to person within the Chinese bureaucracy with a speed so dizzying as to belie any possible real social or "class" content.

In the early 1960s, Smith writes, the party "right led by Liu Shao-chi came close to taking power." Had Liu succeeded, Smith says, "China would be on the capitalist road today."

In defeating Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Smith says, Mao set "a revolutionary example throughout the world that the masses had a right to rebel against the bourgeoisie even within a socialist state."

What "bourgeoisie"? For Marx, social classes are groups of people with definite, identifiable relationships to the means of production. The "bourgeoisie" is a *class* that owns the factories and other means of production. It accumulates *capital* and invests it to realize *profits*. No faction of the Chinese Communist party answers to that description.

Smith simplistically identifies "production" with "capitalism" and alleges that the "bourgeoisie" in China is that wing of the party one-sidedly concerned with production at the expense of the party's ideological control over the masses.

Insofar as there is a social grouping in China hostile to the working class and endangering the planned economy, it is the bureaucracy as a whole and has nothing whatsoever to do with the emphasis placed on industrialization by this or that official. It is not because the regime carries on "production" that it is a bureaucratic caste alien to the workers, but because it extorts special privileges and excludes the masses from real decision-making power.

But these two features are common to *all* factions of the bureaucracy, Mao and Liu included. They do not justify calling the bureaucracy a "capitalist class," much less singling out one of its factions for such a label and giving a clean bill of health to others.

As leaders of the same ruling party,



both Liu Shao-ch'i and Mao had the same relationship to the means of production. Until 1966, nobody outside of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist party even knew they had any disagreements about anything. Then Mao announced that Liu's faction, which nobody knew had existed, was the Chinese capitalist class.

How does the *Guardian* know this allegation was true? Because Mao said so. (Liu never said anything in public again after Mao denounced him and nobody knows whatever became of him.)

In 1971, Mao went on to denounce Defense Minister Lin Piao and other top leaders of the "proletarian left wing" as yet additional secret leaders of the "bourgeoisie" in the party. Even the *Guardian* remains dubious about the truth of this claim. Smith writes in his latest article, "Later called a rightist, he [Lin Piao] has always been identified in the public mind as a left associate of Chiang Ching et al."

The alleged existence of this "bourgeoisie" is the justification for outlawing factions, suppressing dissent, and using police-state measures within the party and against the nonparty masses.

Yet as time goes by we see this "bourgeoisie" identified interchangeably with the party's "right wing" and its "left wing." Isn't it strange that unlike every other bourgeoisie in the world, the "bourgeoisie" in the Chinese Communist party has policies so identical to those of the "communists" that no one even suspects who its representatives are until they are pointed out by the party leader and arrested?

Moreover, unlike every other known bourgeoisie, the one in China periodically reforms itself and becomes transformed into part of the "proletariat."

In the early 1970s, says Smith, "One of the compromises was the restoration to positions of power of a number of officials who had been purged or

severely reprimanded during the cultural revolution. Among them was Teng Hsiao-ping, vilified second only to Liu Shao-chi during the antiright upsurge. Premier Chou brought Teng back to power as his deputy in mid-1973."

If these people were the "bourgeoisie," then weren't Mao and Chou selling out the Chinese workers state by bringing them back to office? If not, then weren't Mao's accusations in 1966 a frame-up and a lie?

Smith extricates himself rather awkwardly from this dilemma. He writes: "The chairman evidently figured that if Teng was sincerely self-critical for his past rightist deviations and promised (as he reportedly did) not to introduce practices that would restore capitalism, his old enemy might be a good transitional leader for China after he and Chou died. . . ."

Are we seriously asked to believe that a "communist" leadership would invite the top leader of the defeated "bourgeoisie" to take over a workers state on the basis of a private promise not to restore capitalism?

### Two frameworks

Smith's method is to use two mutually exclusive frameworks to describe events within the CCP. On one hand, when he wants to point to the wise and orderly administration of his heroes, Mao, Chou, and now Hua, he refers to "left," "right," and "center" factions of a party with a presumably common program and class foundation.

But when he seeks to justify the repellent frame-up system in which yesterday's heroes are today's "dog-turds" and "maggots"—when was such debasing language ever used by real revolutionists!—he applies a totally different yardstick. The factions are miraculously transformed into contending "classes" between which the methods of class war prevail.

By Smith's own rendition, Chou En-lai was the leader of the faction to which Teng belonged. When he refers to Chou this is only the rightist faction of the Communist party, but when he mentions this same group in connection with Teng, it is the capitalist class.

But if Smith is going to stay in the Maoist camp he still has some way to go. Peking does not accept his version that Lin Piao and Chiang Ch'ing were leaders of a "left" faction in the CCP. Hua Kuo-feng uses Mao's "theory" as it was really intended to be used. The "bourgeoisie" does not refer to any specific group, set of policies, or social class. It means anybody who is "swiftly on their way to political oblivion."

It is not a theory at all. It is just an epithet used by the totalitarian, privileged, bureaucratic caste to read its victims out of the human race.



During previous factional battles Mao accused even longtime collaborators and Chinese CP leaders of trying to restore capitalism (from left): Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

# ...hard times



**Continued from back page**

ranks that a change was needed. NBC estimated that 64% of trade unionists voted for Carter, while CBS gave the figure of 62%.

Without the votes from labor, Carter could not have won. Trade-union support provided the margin of difference for Carter in Pennsylvania and New York, for example. The loss of either one of these states would have cost him the election. Ohio, another key industrial state, was also won by Carter. It was a convincing demonstration of the potential political power of the American trade-union movement—and of how that power remains harnessed to the service of the Democratic party, instead of to the independent labor party that is so badly needed.

## 'We Shall Overcome'

Even more impressive than the labor vote for Carter was the Black vote. NBC estimated that 92% of Blacks who voted cast their ballots for Carter, while CBS put the figure at 83%. The Joint Center for Political Studies, a Washington-based group that follows Black voting patterns, reported that Carter took 93% of the Black vote.

As with the labor vote, Carter wooed Blacks and Hispanics from the beginning. At the close of the Democratic party national convention, Carter, Mondale, and the other party hacks joined hands with Coretta Scott King, the widow of Martin Luther King, Jr.; Black congressman and former civil-rights activist Andrew Young; United Farm Workers President César Chávez, and others. They all sang "We Shall Overcome," the song made famous by the civil-rights movement.

With double the unemployment rate of whites, Blacks were even more responsive to Carter's promises about the economy. Moreover, cutbacks in government spending in everything from child care and school lunches to welfare and job training have hit the oppressed minorities the hardest.

Seeing no alternative, those of the oppressed national minorities who went to the polls backed Carter—and their votes, like those of the trade unionists, were essential to Carter's victory.

In Pennsylvania, for example, Carter won by only 123,000 votes. Blacks in Philadelphia alone gave him 178,000 votes.

In Ohio, where Carter's lead was only 7,500 votes, Representative Louis Stokes of Cleveland noted that "the margin can be attributed to the large black vote. . . ."

Massive leads for Carter in the heavily Chicano areas of South Texas gave him his overall 2% edge in that state.

Nationwide, only 48% of white voters gave their support to Carter. *In fact, even in Carter's home base in the South, the majority of white voters backed Ford. Carter won 54% of the overall vote in the South, and every Southern state except Virginia, because he won the Black vote.*

This point should be noted. Despite the claims by various commentators that Carter has reconstructed the Democratic party coalition forged by Franklin D. Roosevelt during the 1930s, the 1976 election gave convincing proof that the Roosevelt coalition is dead.

That coalition rested on the votes of white workers and Blacks in the North, and on the white-supremacist Dixiecrat machine in the South. The masses of Blacks were not allowed to vote in the South during the 1930s and 1940s.

## Wallace movement

When the old white-supremacist machine began to be broken down in the 1960s by the force of the civil-rights movement, the Democratic party in the South split. The Dixiecrat wing that had been dominant in the days of the Roosevelt coalition was represented by George Wallace. In 1968, when Wallace ran on the American Independent party ticket against both Nixon and Democratic party nominee Hubert Humphrey, he won 13.5% of the total vote.

Wallace's 10 million votes were concentrated in the South, where he carried the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. In North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, he lost to Nixon, but won a bigger vote there than Humphrey.

In 1972, the remnant of Wallace's movement, without Wallace, polled slightly more than one million votes. This year it received only 168,000 votes.

Thus, in the electoral arena, the 1976 campaign sealed the defeat of the diehard segregationists. The racist, reactionary vote had no place to go but to Ford or Carter.

The collapse of the Wallace movement and its reabsorption into the two-party system reflect the changing economic reality—particularly the urbanization and industrialization of the South, and the shift among Blacks from being agricultural laborers and sharecroppers to industrial workers. It is also a result of the gains won by the Black liberation movement over the last two decades.

The reactionary objective of pushing Blacks back to their status prior to the mass civil-rights movement is no longer realistic. Such an objective could be attained only through the victory of a mass fascist movement.

The need of the American ruling class for a class-collaborationist relationship with reformist Black leaders was reflected in the course of the presidential campaign by incidents such as Carter's rapid retreat on his "ethnic purity" slur and the resignation of Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz after a racist joke of his was publicized.

Carter himself got his start in the 1976 presidential primaries as the candidate assigned by the Democratic party machine to block Wallace. Even Wallace has been trying to prove that he has had a change of heart on the race issue. He recently ordered the flag of the Confederate slavocracy flown underneath, instead of above, the American flag on the Alabama statehouse. He also gave approval to the pardon of a Black defendant in the

infamous Scottsboro frame-up.

Of course, the shift in stance on this issue is only relative. In general, both Carter and Ford tried to pretend in their campaigns that Blacks do not exist. They avoided discussion of the problem of racism in American society. Carter is now talking about putting Blacks in his cabinet; but aside from such possible gestures he will continue the basic economic and social policies that breed racism and give encouragement to ultraracist forces.

In this context, it is interesting to note that the 1976 election saw a virtual standstill in the number of Black elected officials. This is different from 1974, when the largest number of Blacks since the post-Civil War Reconstruction were elected to state legislatures in the South.

The 1976 campaign was also very different from the 1968 and 1972 campaigns, when Nixon's "Southern strategy" was based on winning the South by appealing to the racist vote. The ruling class now has to worry much more about keeping Blacks inside the two-party system because of the economic downturn and the general crisis of confidence in the Democratic and Republican parties. Also, a "law-and-order" campaign would not have gone over very well after Watergate.

## Silence on key issues

Watergate and the whole web of government crimes connected with it was another underlying issue in the election. The Democrats and Republi-



Carter can't deliver what masses of people expect from his administration.

cans handled it by putting up two candidates not involved in Watergate who stressed their own honesty and avoided discussing the issues. Most people saw no difference between Ford and Carter on Watergate.

Eugene McCarthy did run as a reformer against both capitalist parties, which he correctly charged with responsibility for government attacks on democratic rights. But McCarthy had no solutions for the economic problems worrying the electorate, and tended to downplay them in his campaign. Overall, because of his commitment to capitalist politics, McCarthy's campaign did nothing to help open a way forward for the masses.

McCarthy managed to pull about 650,000 votes, or 1% of the total, and prevented Carter from winning in four states.

The rights of women was another issue avoided by the candidates of the two-party system. Neither Ford nor Carter had much to say about the



D. Fradon





ELECTION DAY: Turnout at polls was lowest since 1948

question, aside from their repeated statements opposing the right of women to abortion. Where voters did get a chance to express their views on the question of women's rights, they came out massively in favor.

State referendums on the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. constitution were on the ballot in Colorado and Massachusetts, and voters in both states backed the ERA by a three-to-two margin. Particularly significant was the fact that in Massachusetts the ERA was worded to include a prohibition against discrimination on account of race as well as sex. Boston has been the scene of one of the fiercest battles in the country over busing.

As with Blacks, both the Democratic and Republican parties put forward few women candidates. The number of women holding elective office remained basically unchanged, although in the 1974 election there was an increase of about 27%.

#### 'Ford to city: drop dead'

Aside from the role of Black voters and the trade unions in Carter's victory, the most significant factor was probably the crisis in the cities. CBS estimated that 60% of the voters in cities with populations of more than 500,000 cast their ballots for Carter.

The problems facing the city poor, of course, dovetail with racial discrimination and the overall state of the economy. Ford's attitude was summarized in a headline in the New York *Daily News* last year: "Ford to city: drop dead."

New York City's financial crisis has resulted in tens of thousands of layoffs, the closing of hospitals, libraries, and schools, and the slashing of social services, including garbage collection and fire protection. But the situation facing New York is not unique.

As *Business Week* warned in a July 12 editorial, "... New York City's troubles are harbingers of a broader problem. Every major city in the U.S. is going to have serious financial distress in the next three to five years."

The day after Carter's election, New York Mayor Abraham Beame, a fellow Democrat, pulled out a copy of the "Ford to city" headline, which had been issued as a campaign leaflet by the Carter organization in New York. Beame ripped the leaflet apart as television cameras filmed the scene. "I'll tell you one thing," he said. "It's not going to happen under Carter."

#### Prospects under Carter

Which brings us to the question of the prospects under a Carter administration.

An editorial in the November 15 issue of *Business Week* came right to the point. "One of the first things that Carter must learn as President," it said, "is that he cannot deliver on his many domestic promises so long as international economies are out of control."

It would be surprising indeed if Carter did not make any gestures to the constituency that elected him. He knows that if he wants a second term in office he will again have to win the votes of Blacks, trade unionists, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and the population of the big cities.

But the extent of the concessions that a Carter administration is willing to make will be determined by the overall problems of the world capitalist economy. The fact is that the economic recovery in Europe, even more than in the United States, has bogged down. The imperialist regimes are squabbling over which will capture the largest share of a shrinking world market, and in this situation new attempts to hold down wages and

living conditions are inevitable. The only alternative would be to make the capitalists rather than the workers pay, and Carter is not about to do that unless the capitalist class as a whole decides that such a course is necessary because of massive resistance from the working class and its allies.

Wall Street's expectations were summed up by Leonard Silk in an article in the October 28 *New York Times*. Although Carter has been talking about stimulating the economy to produce more jobs, Silk noted, "In the realm of monetary policy ... there are unlikely to be enough changes ... to make much difference."

Carter is also talking about reinstituting the type of wage controls that led to a sharp drop in real wages under the Nixon administration. "Mr. Carter and his advisers have made clear that they would, in the words of Walter W. Heller, 'maintain and unchain' the Council on Wage and Price Stability, which has been deprecated during the Ford administration."

Silk concludes: "Many businessmen and stock-market investors are apparently prepared to be upset over the possibility of a Carter victory. However, as one corporate executive said, 'Business prefers Republican Presidents but growls all the way to the bank under Democrats.'"

#### 'Drop dead' in politer tone?

What about Mayor Beame's confidence that what has been happening to New York City is "not going to happen under Carter"?

"The Carter campaign in New York City sees the two candidates as day and night," the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* commented October 25. "Yet beyond a difference in rhetorical tones, and wishful thinking in City Hall, we can't see why. Chances are that when New York returns to Washington in January with its plea for more help, it will get about the same reception, regardless of who is in office."

Carter may agree to stretch out the time period over which the cuts in the New York City budget must be made, but he is in complete agreement with Ford that the cuts must be put into effect. There is every reason to believe that Carter, too, will tell the millions who depend on city services to drop dead. However, as the *Wall Street Journal* editors noted, he will probably do it with a different rhetorical tone.

But the masses of people who voted for Carter did not vote for rhetorical tone. They voted for a difference in their lives; they tried to vote their way out of the depression, out of the economic crisis that

has never ended for the unemployed, for those suffering from the cutbacks, and for those fearing new layoffs.

Nor does Carter have a lot of time before people begin demanding results. The extent of confidence in Carter—or the lack of it—was reflected in the NBC poll taken on election day. Only 40% of those queried upon leaving the voting booths said they would trust him to do the right thing most of the time, and only 30% chose the words "honest man" as an accurate description of Carter. There is no feeling that Carter is a savior. He is simply seen as offering a better chance than Ford to get the country out of the economic crisis.

How good are Carter's chances of delivering? In that regard, his situation should be compared to that of Lyndon Johnson, who campaigned in 1964 on the slogan of the "Great Society." When Johnson took office expanding industries were creating jobs; inflation was not a pressing problem; and real wages were rising. Today, American corporations are still laying workers off, real wages remain lower than they were in 1965, and the threat of a renewed economic downturn and sharp inflation is a constant preoccupation.

Moreover, Carter has fewer political excuses than his predecessors. He has a Democratic party majority of 62-to-38 in the Senate and 290-to-145 in the House of Representatives. Thirty-seven of the fifty state governors in the United States are also Democrats.

\* \* \*

The 1976 presidential election showed two basic facts about American politics. First, the masses of workers and the oppressed nationalities remain tied to the capitalist two-party system. There is no mass break yet from the Democratic party. But at the same time the American people are growing increasingly restive within the confines of the two-party system. They are becoming increasingly impatient and dissatisfied with the choices being offered them.

From this point of view, it is important to note that although there appears to have been no appreciable increase in the socialist vote this year—partly because much of the protest vote went to McCarthy—the idea of an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties has begun to gain a wider hearing than ever before. The fact that Michael Harrington, the best-known Social Democratic leader in the United States, and a Carter supporter, felt it necessary to debate Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo on this topic on the eve of the election was an indication of the growing sentiment for a better alternative to the perennial two capitalist parties.

#### Two-party system

The ruling class, of course, is not about to abandon the two-party system that has worked so well for them for more than a century, but among broad layers of the population, the idea of something superior is gaining in attractiveness.

Finally, it must be stressed once again that the oppressed minorities and the American labor movement expect that because of the way they voted they are entitled to responsiveness from the incoming administration. Looking ahead to reelection in 1980, Carter may try to consolidate his position by granting some concessions. But his margin for maneuver is severely restricted. Most importantly, he cannot solve the basic problems that the masses expect him to solve.

In light of all these factors, it is safe to predict that the next four years are not going to be easy ones for Carter or for the class he represents.



Carter wooed labor with promises of jobs, prosperity, and economic security



# ...steel

Continued from page 3

great hopes, but "he can't be worse than what we've got now."

"We've got a different viewpoint, and you can read in the *Militant* about what Carter really has in store for working people.

"But you know there's another election going on now, and we think it will mean more for working people than the one last Tuesday.

"Do you know about Ed Sadlowski? He's running for president of the United Steelworkers union, saying that the union should be democratically run by the workers. That it can do a lot more to get jobs, wages, safer conditions, and pensions you can live on. He's saying the labor movement should start really fighting for a better life for all working people."

Less than half of those we talk to already know about Sadlowski.

"This pamphlet tells about the Sadlowski campaign and its background. It tells how the union was first organized, some of the struggles steelworkers have been through, and the issues in the campaign today.

"It's based on articles that first appeared in the *Militant*. And you can read news every week in the *Militant* about the Sadlowski campaign and many other struggles—for school desegregation, for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. . . ."

Because we're getting into conversations with people—and not just talking at them—it quickly becomes evident whether a person is more interested in the paper, the pamphlet, both, or neither.

It turns out the neighborhood we've picked is racially mixed, mostly Black. We find we can't hit all that many houses in a couple of hours, because so many people invite us in to talk more.

One man describes at great length what a bunch of crooks and liars all politicians are. He shakes his head. "If only there were more people who think like you all do and like I do. . . ."

One Black woman works in a supermarket and belongs to the retail clerks union, not the steelworkers. "But I know what you're saying about these unions. It's the same in ours." She buys a subscription.

We run into some people who just got back from church. There they'd heard rumors of big layoffs coming soon. Preacher said it's because the government is forcing the company to install pollution controls.

The two hours seem to have passed in a rush. Ruth and I have sold six subscriptions, six pamphlets, and two single copies of the *Militant*. Of the people we've talked to, more than half have bought some piece of socialist literature.

In late afternoon all the teams get back together. We find that twelve people going to Clairton and to Homes-

tead have sold thirty pamphlets, twenty-one subscriptions, and seven single copies.

It's a good total for a brief afternoon, and dispels any idea that pamphlets and subscriptions can't be sold together. On the contrary, the two seem complementary.

For the rest of the subscription drive, everyone agrees, door-to-door teams should take both pamphlets and *Militants*. Beyond that, the pamphlet sales campaign—which continues until the union election next February—should keep on bringing in more subscriptions.

It's a good start. Tomorrow we hit the plant gates.

# ...Crusade

Continued from page 14

threats against Baca as well as the beating of Halstead and Chainey.

For example, the paper also reprints the open letter by Maria Serna, the secretary of the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, who was present in the Crusade headquarters when Halstead and Chainey were assaulted. (See the *Militant*, November 5, 1976).

In her letter Serna does not even claim that the two SWP leaders initiated the violence that occurred. She simply accuses them of making "intimidating threats" as they were on their way out of the office.

"It is true a physical confrontation resulted," she states, "and that both Steve Chainey and Fred Halstead were ousted from the Crusade premises—again not because they are members of the SWP, again not because of the political differences, but because they were intolerably insulting, pompous, and obtrusive in their conduct."

Leaving the accuracy of the description aside, it is clear that the Crusade leadership considers it justified to physically assault anyone they think is insulting, pompous, or obtrusive.

The seriousness of this stance can be judged from another article printed in this current issue of *El Gallo*, an open letter from Corky Gonzales to all those who signed the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement." In it Gonzales states, "By your presumptuous chest pounding and self-righteousness you are joining hands with those biased and reactionary forces who are no doubt pleased by your attempts to create divisionism, factionalism, disunity and confusion with the Chicano Movement. . . . You pompously have become judge, jury and prosecutor based on misinformation, ignorance, spite, guilt, or provocation."

Are those who "pompously" signed a declaration condemning violence within the movement targets for the same kind of treatment the "pompous" Halstead and Chainey received at the

# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**MOTHER.** V.I. Pudovkin's classic Russian film. Fri., Nov. 19. Two showings—7:30 p.m. and 10 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## DENVER

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m.—*What next for China?* Speaker: Mary Maisel. Sat., Nov. 20, 4 p.m.—*Political rights and the fight for socialism.* Speaker: Betsey Stone, member of SWP National Committee. 7 p.m.—*Feminism and socialism.* Speaker: Betsey Stone. All sessions at Metro State College, Elati Center (corner Elati and 14th St.). Donation: \$1 per session; \$2 for all three sessions. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (303) 837-1018 or 893-3506.

## LOS ANGELES

**A SOCIALIST VIEW OF AMERICAN HISTORY.** Educational conference. Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m.—1776-1976: *Reform and revolution in American history.* Speaker: George Novack, author and Marxist scholar. Sat., 1 p.m.—*Introduction to dialectical method,* by George Novack. *Rise and fall of reconstruction (1865-1877),* by Sam Manuel. *History of women's fight for equal rights,* by Sara Baird. *Prospects for socialism in America,* by Steven Fuchs. Sat., Nov. 20, 3 p.m.—*Historical materialism,*

by George Novack. *History of the Chicano people,* by Laura Garza. *History of the American labor movement,* by David Jerome. *Democracy and socialism,* by Harry Ring. All sessions held at King Hall, Cal State Los Angeles. Donation: \$1 per day or \$1.50 for conference. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

## ST. LOUIS: WEST END

**AFTER MAO'S DEATH, WHICH WAY FOR CHINA?** Speaker: Jim Levitt, master's degree candidate in Chinese history, SWP. Fri., Nov., 19, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Pathfinder Forums. For more information call (314) 725-1571.

## ST. PAUL, MINN.

**BERNADETTE DEVLIN SPEAKS ON IRELAND.** Wed., Nov. 17, 8 p.m. Marian Lounge, St. Joseph Hall, 2004 Randolph Ave., College of St. Catherine. Ausp: Irish Republican Club, May Day Bookstore, St. Paul Tenants Union, SWP. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## TACOMA, WASH.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m.—*Does America need another revolution?* Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, author. Sat., Nov. 20, 11 a.m.—*Black liberation and socialism.* Speaker: Carmen Maymi, SWP. 2 p.m.—*Feminism and socialism.* Speaker: Margaret Trowe, member of Washington Coalition for the ERA. Library D Conference Room, Bldg. I, Tacoma Community College. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (206) 627-5821.

hands of Crusade leaders?

The message is clear. Those with whom the Crusade leaders have differences are warned to keep their mouths shut or they too will be subject to the vilest slander and physical intimidation. And those who come to the defense of anyone who is slandered or assaulted will also become targets.

The use of such methods by forces who are fighting for social justice and progress represents a cancer. If it is not halted it can only lead to the total isolation and eventual destruction of any group that employs such methods.

But more than the groups that resort to slander, violence, and physical intimidation are affected. It becomes the concern of every organization and individual in the movement. Everyone has a responsibility to speak out against it, to try to halt its destructive spread.

Violence against political opponents opens the movement wide to exploitation by government provocateurs who like nothing better than the opportunity to ply their trade while covering their tracks and attributing responsibility to some social movement they are trying to discredit.

Anyone who has read the story of the FBI's Cointelpro operation against the Black Panther party and other Black organizations can easily draw the lessons.

Only by unequivocally rejecting the use of slander and physical intimidation against opponents within the movement can an atmosphere be created in which political alternatives can be discussed and decided on their merits. Establishing and maintaining those most elementary norms of democracy in the workers movement, the

struggles of the oppressed nationalities, the women's movement, and the student movement, is the concern of all who are fighting for social progress.

This is the stance taken by the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement."

That is the stance we hope the Crusade for Justice will adopt.

## Correction

The article "The left & the elections" in the October 29 *Militant* incorrectly identifies Beverly Stewart as co-president of the National Organization for Women (NOW) chapter in Pittsburgh. Stewart is co-president of the First Pittsburgh chapter of NOW.

# Issues in Boston

**THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back,** by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

**WHO KILLED JIM CROW? The Story of the Civil Rights Movement and Its Lessons for Today,** by Peter Camejo. 60 cents

**FROM MISSISSIPPI TO BOSTON: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights.** An Education for Socialists publication, 8½ x 11 format, 75 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

## Chicago, Dec. 31-Jan. 2

# Young socialists prepare for nat'l convention

By Nancy Rosenstock

"Help! I just finished voting. It was a most horrible ordeal. Neither candidate was what I wanted, sort of a better of two evils. Please send me some information on your organization."

This letter to the Socialist Workers party national campaign office was postmarked Bozeman, Montana. In that state, restrictive election laws kept presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid off the ballot. Another letter received after election day said:

"I could write pages on my political feelings, but basically they would all be in agreement with what you stand for. Please let me know what I can do to help after November 2."

There's plenty to do. As Camejo and Reid campaigned on college campuses, they urged their supporters to join the Young Socialist Alliance—a student organization active year-round in the struggles championed by the SWP campaign.

The best way to find out about the YSA is to come to our national convention in Chicago, December 31 through January 2.

There, college and high school students from across the country will discuss reports on the fight against racism in this country, the struggle in southern Africa, and how to win more people to the socialist movement.

Activists will also participate in panels and workshops on defending

abortion rights, school desegregation, and Latin American political prisoners; supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, Puerto Rican independence, and Chicano liberation; fighting the death penalty, CIA and FBI crimes, and cutbacks. A special convention event will be the socialist rally on Friday night, December 31.

In preparation for the convention, YSA chapters are discussing a resolution drafted by the YSA National Executive Committee, "Socialist Strategy for 1977—Perspectives for the Young Socialist Alliance."

The resolution examines the roots of today's economic crisis and how it affects working people and students. It proposes a strategy for the YSA's continued participation in struggles

against the attacks on our rights and living standards. The convention will discuss and vote on this document.

We are urging all young people interested in socialism to come to the convention.

If you attend college or high school in the Chicago area, you may run into a team of socialists publicizing the convention. Suzanne Haig, who just ran for governor of Illinois on the SWP ticket, is a member of this special traveling team.

You can get more information on the convention by writing to the YSA National Office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Send along forty cents and we'll send you a copy of "Socialist Strategy for 1977."

## Come to the YSA convention



The Young Socialist Alliance national convention will take place December 31-January 2 at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel in Chicago.

The convention is the perfect place to find out more about the socialist movement.

To find out more about the convention or to join the YSA, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 31), or fill out the coupon below.

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.  
☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.  
☐ Send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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Clip and mail to: **YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.**

## Socialist policy in the trade unions

**Class Struggle Policy in the Rise of the Labor Movement** by Tom Kerry. 24 pp., 75 cents

**Selected Documents on SWP Trade Union Policy.** Resolutions and statements of the Socialist Workers party. 24 pp., 40 cents

**Recent Trends in the Labor Movement** by Farrell Dobbs. 32 pp., 50 cents

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**Muncie:** YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

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**College Park:** YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**Prince Georges County:** SWP, 4318 Hamilton St., Rm. 10, Hyattsville, Md. 20781. Tel: (301) 864-4867.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o Mark Cerasuolo, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

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**Mt. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

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**St. Louis:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1571.

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**Seattle:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

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**La Crosse:** YSA, c/o UW La Crosse, Cartwright Center, 1725 State St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

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**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.

## GREAT EXPECTATIONS, HARD TIMES

### Behind the vote for Jimmy Carter

By David Frankel

One thing came through clearly in the presidential election: In the end, the voters had a hard time deciding who was worse, Ford or Carter. "I don't think the people liked either one of the candidates all that much," admitted a Republican party leader in Cleveland when the election was over.

At the close of the first of the so-called great debates between the two capitalist candidates, Ford summed up by saying: "I think the real issue in this campaign . . . is whether you should vote for his [Carter's] promises or my performance in two years in the White House."

A bare majority chose Carter's promises over Ford's record. They voted, above all, for Carter's promise to do something about unemployment and restore prosperity.

The choice, however, was not made enthusiastically. Polls estimated that 20% of the voters were still undecided in the last week of the campaign. The remark of one Massachusetts voter who told reporters, "I'm not that hot for Carter, but I like the other guy less," was typical.

#### Lowest since 1948

The American ruling class was delighted that people bothered to vote at all. "Voters Jam the Polls," said the main headline of one New York daily. And Chemical Bank, one of the country's largest, took out a full-page advertisement in the November 5 *New York Times* that proclaimed:

"America: 79,000,000

"Apathy: 0

"More than 79 million Americans proved that the predictions of voter apathy were largely unfounded."

Chemical Bank, however, overstated its case.

About 67 million voters abstained, and it is clear that millions of those who finally did vote still felt resentment and dissatisfaction over the lack of a real choice. The actual turnout was the lowest since

1948, when 51% of the eligible voters cast ballots. This year, the turnout was 53.3%, continuing the steady decline in voter participation since 1960, when 63% of the eligible voters came out. The 1976 turnout dropped two percentage points from the 55.4% figure for 1972.

A prime goal of the ruling class in the 1976 election was to restore trust in the government, which was badly shaken by Johnson and Nixon's intervention in the Vietnamese civil war and by the Watergate scandal.

But it remains to be seen whether Carter can restore the confidence undermined by his predecessors.

The program that Carter ran on was not substantially different from Ford's. Each insisted that he would maintain the stronger military establishment. Both men opposed the right of women to abortion. Both supported the death penalty. And neither promised any new initiatives regarding Black rights. On help to victims of the economic crisis, Carter hedged in his promises.

However, Carter was elected on a program different from the one he ran on. In their attempt to find some difference between the two candidates, and in their dissatisfaction with the way things are going under Ford, the low-income voters singled out Carter's vague promises for a change and his insistence that he would "put America back to work."

Carter was elected to bring jobs and stop the cutbacks in social programs.

The statistics on how people voted show how dominant the economic issue was in deciding the election. An NBC News poll found that 87% of those who pulled the lever for Carter gave jobs as a reason. A CBS News poll found that only one income group—voters from families earning more than \$20,000 a year—gave Ford a majority (62%) of its votes. In contrast, families earning less than



\$8,000 a year gave Carter 62% of their votes.

The vote in the \$12,000 to \$20,000 bracket divided half and half between Ford and Carter, while those in the \$8,000 to \$12,000 category gave Carter a 57% majority. (That the race was so close despite these statistics reflects the fact that the percentage of those who vote rises with income.)

The American workers sought to advance their own interests within the capitalist two-party trap. This becomes even clearer if the Black vote and the trade-union vote are singled out.

#### Labor bureaucrats go all-out

Carter made a strong appeal to the labor vote in his speech accepting the Democratic party nomination. "Our party," he said, "was built out of the sweatshops of the old Lower East Side, the dark mills of New Hampshire, the blazing hearths of Illinois, the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the hard-scrabble farms of the southern coastal plains, and the unlimited frontiers of America."

The trade-union bureaucracy went all-out for Carter.

Unions distributed more than 80 million pieces of literature backing Carter's bid for the White House. Shop stewards and union officers were instructed to put the arm on local members during lunch breaks and on the job. Union newspapers functioned as campaign leaflets for the Carter-Mondale ticket.

"Protect Your Jobs! Vote Carter-Mondale," the Michigan *AFL-CIO News* urged in its final issue before the election.

"WE NEED CARTER!" said the headline of the New York *Public Employee Press*. A quote from union leader Victor Gotbaum was displayed: "The stakes are enormous for City workers; jobs, pensions, and the future of our City are on the line."

The campaign of the union tops in behalf of Carter met with success because of the feeling in the

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## Abortion rights: where they stand today

By Dianne Feeley

Until 1973 laws in most states denied women safe, legal abortions. In January of that year, the Supreme Court threw out these laws for unconstitutionally denying women their right to privacy. In the first six months of a woman's pregnancy, the court said, the government cannot interfere with her right to choose abortion.

This landmark ruling officially legalized abortion in every state.

Now, almost four years later, Congress has voted to take back this right from thousands of women. In September it passed the Hyde amendment as part of a bill including funds for the Department of Health, Education and

Welfare (HEW). This amendment would cut off federal Medicaid funds for abortions except those necessary to save a pregnant woman's life.

The vote in Congress sparked protest picket lines, debates, and rallies by pro-abortion forces. On October 22 a federal judge in New York declared the measure unconstitutional and placed an injunction on it. The government, however, is preparing to appeal the ruling.

In addition, three anti-abortion members of Congress tried to get the Supreme Court to place a stay on the injunction. This would have cut off Medicaid funds immediately until the government completed its appeal. Fortunately, the Supreme Court rejected this request November 8.

While this ruling keeps the Hyde amendment from going into effect immediately, the danger remains that it, or a similar measure, could become law.

The amendment would deny up to 300,000 women access to safe, legal abortions each year. Even conservative estimates of what could be in store for these women are chilling.

A December 1974 HEW report estimated that without federal funds, 125 to 250 women would die from kitchen-table abortions each year. In addition, 25,000 would be hospitalized.

Another upshot of the Hyde amend-

ment would be an increase in forced sterilizations. It would restore the pre-1973 conditions that enabled hospitals to wrest "consent" for sterilizations from poor Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano women in exchange for performing abortions.

The 1973 Supreme Court decision was the most important gain for women's rights since suffrage. It freed millions of women from unwanted pregnancies. It set the historic precedent that it is a woman's right to decide for herself whether to have an abortion.

For millions, the old anti-abortion laws meant forced motherhood and

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